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Frontispiece.

A Chart of the Ancient Situation of the places mentioned in this Work.

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THE ANTIQUITIES OF RICHBOROUGH AND RECULVER.

ABRIDGED FROM THE LATIN OF

Mr. ARCHDEACON BATTELY.

LONDON,
PRINTED FOR J. JOHNSON, IN ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD.
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BRITAN
NICVM

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INTRODUCTION.

DR. John Battely, author of the following work, born at St. Edmundſbury in Suffolk in the year 1647, ſome time fellow of Trinity college, Cambridge, and chaplain to archbiſhop Sancroft, afterwards, by his grace's favour, rector of Adiſham in Kent, prebendary of Canterbury, and archdeacon of the dioceſe, died October 10, 1708*, and was interred in the ſouth croſs of Canterbury cathedral, where a mural monument was erected to his memory. His *Antiquitates Rutupinæ* (now firſt tranſlated) were publiſhed in octavo in 1711 by Dr. Iſaac Terry, canon of Chriſt Church, Oxford.

* It appears by the introduction to Archæologia, vol 1. p. xxv. that Dr. Battely was one of thoſe "gentlemen eminent "for their affection to and advances in the ſcience of antiqui-"ties, who revived the Antiquarian Society by their weekly "meetings at the Bear tavern in the Strand, in the year "1707." He is there ſaid by miſtake to have died in 1718.

As the original, being truly Ciceronian, is an account of a dialogue between the author and his two learned friends and brother-chaplains, Dr. Henry Maurice * and Mr. Henry Wharton †, and therefore, though elegant, is prolix, it is thought that the tranſlation will be more acceptable to an Engliſh reader in a ſmaller though leſs claſſic form, as a diſſertation or eſſay.

Mr. Nicholas Battely, brother to the archdeacon, rector of Ivychurch and vicar of Beakſbourn in Kent, publiſhed, in 1703,

* Chaplain to Sir Leoline Jenkins, (ambaſſador at Nimeguen,) 1675, to archbiſhop Sancroft, 1680, and by him preferred to the rectory of Chevening, in Kent, and the treaſurerſhip of Chicheſter, and, laſtly, to the rectory of Newington in Oxfordſhire. He was alſo Margaret profeſſor of divinity at Oxford, and, in right of that place, prebendary of Worceſter. For a liſt of his works ſee Wood's Athenæ Oxonienſes, vol. II. p. 873.

† Rector of Chartham in Kent, and vicar of Minſter in the iſle of Thanet, well known to the learned world by his Anglia Sacra, and many other works. He fell a martyr to his ſtudies at the age of 30, viz. in the year 1694, and was buried with great marks of diſtinction in Weſtminſter-abbey, where a monument is erected to his memory.

See Athenæ Oxon. vol. II. p 874, and Biographia Britannica, vol. VII. p. 4197.

a ſecond

a ſecond edition of Somner's Antiquities of Canterbury, in quarto, with large additions.

N. B. The few notes added by the tranſlator are diſtinguiſhed from thoſe of the author by being marked *, †, &c.

The EDITOR of the original work to the READER.

THE Antiquities of Richborough, here offered to you, muſt not too haſtily be laid aſide as a work unintereſting and unentertaining. For on matters in themſelves perhaps rather obſcure much light, you will ſee, is thrown by learning, and much by genius, and whether you are pleaſed with the remains of Roman or domeſtic antiquity, or with polite literature happily illuſtrated, or with the elegance and ornaments of ſtyle, you will here find what well deſerves and will repay your attention. In

ſhort, after reading the few following pages, you will grieve at the author's having left only this little work finiſhed, as you will eaſily perceive that he was thoroughly acquainted with the Greek and Roman authors, as well as with modern writers in every branch of antiquity.

To theſe reſearches he was prompted by the very ſituation of the place where he lived; as coins, fibulæ, rings, keys, urns, and other Roman antiquities were daily found in his neighbourhood, and continually brought to him. Of theſe he made a large collection, and bequeathed them to his nephew, Mr. John Battely, of Trinity college, Cambridge; and that part of them which is illuſtrated in theſe antiquities his relations, to whom at length it devolved, took care to place in the library of the ſame college.

With theſe ſtudies he relaxed his mind, but by no means ſuffered them to withdraw him from more ſerious employments, for moſt

moſt able, he certainly was, as a divine, and, as a preacher, frequent, zealous, eloquent. Such diſquiſitions ſo far only engaged his leiſure as never to interfere with any part of the duties of his ſacred function, never to prevent him from diſcharging his archidiaconal office with the moſt conſummate prudence, or from ſuperintending his flock with conſtant vigilance and care.

No one, therefore, can juſtly cenſure him for employing too much time in diſplaying theſe remains of Richborough, unleſs perhaps his townſmen of St. Edmundſbury, who had reaſon to hope that in ſome of his leiſure hours, he would have completed the hiſtory of their town, and its moſt famous monaſtery, which he had begun and brought down to the year 1272. With no ſmall labour and expence, he had indeed collected many particulars tending to illuſtrate the antiquities of that place, which now having devolved to his relations, are preſerved by them, in order to be com-

municated to any of the learned or lovers of antiquity who may undertake a hiſtory of the ſame kind *.

1711.

* This hint having no effect, and the publication of them being much ſolicited, the "Antiquitates S. Edmundi Burgi" above-mentioned were publiſhed many years after, (viz. in the year 1745,) as the author left them, by his nephew, Mr. Oliver Battely, together with a new edition in quarto of "Antiquitates Rutupinæ."

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ERRATA.

Page 31, line 7, for "Rutupium" read "Rutupiæ"
—— 59, —— 9, dele "not"
—— 63, note (6) for "Favorinum" read "Favorinus"

THE ANTIQUITIES OF RICHBOROUGH & RECULVER.

MANY coins, rings, buckles, keys, urns, and other Roman antiquities being frequently found at Reculver and Richborough, and brought to me, I was very desirous to investigate the origin of those places, which, by so many remains dug up, and such eminent traces of Roman encampments still visible, I was well convinced must be extremely remote. I shall

therefore begin my enquiry with a ſurvey of the preſent ſituation of thoſe places.

The iſle of Thanet, oppoſite the coaſt of Kent, forms ſuch a haven as Virgil (1) deſcribes:

—— —— Shelter'd from the rolling ſea
An iſland forms a port. ——

By the way, Venantius Fortunatus (2) ſeems to have alluded to Thanet, and the haven which it forms, in that poem where, mentioning St. Paul's arrival in Britain, he ſays,

—— —— Where an iſland forms a port,
The ſea he croſs'd.

But to return. This haven has two mouths; the one open to the north, the other to the eaſt. The caſtle of Regulbium [Reculver,] was built near the former; the

(1) Æneid 1.

(2) Life of St. Martin, iii.

caſtle

caſtle of Rutupiæ [Richborough,] near the latter; by which, well garriſoned, the haven was formerly cloſed on each ſide. From theſe, as from watch-towers, the ſhips of invaders and pirates might be ſeen at a great diſtance, and their entrance prevented, and the Roman fleets were ſecurely drawn on ſhore. A wide valley, or level, now lies between theſe caſtles, in which, I think, the haven of Rutupiæ muſt have been placed. For though meadows now intervene, and a rivulet, confined within a very narrow channel, flows between them, yet if we recollect the old face of the country, as it is drawn by ancient writers, and view it with the eye of the mind, we ſhall ſoon diſcover the port of Rutupiæ, the moſt celebrated in all Britain. The drought, or ſcantineſs of water, which now appears, was not of old. For Solinus(3), the firſt Roman writer who mentions the iſle of Thanet, ſays, that "it is waſhed by the "ſtraits of Gaul, and ſeparated from the "continent of Britain by a ſmall æſtuary."

(3) Chap. xxiv.

But this æſtuary, which Solinus calls a "ſmall" one, Bede (4) ſays, was "about three "furlongs in breadth." For theſe are the words of that venerable writer: "On the "eaſtern coaſt of Kent is Thanet, no ſmall "iſland, containing, according to the mea- "ſurement uſed in England, ſix hundred "families, and ſeparated from the conti- "nent by the river Wantſumu, which is in "breadth about three furlongs, and is paſ- "ſable only in two places, for both its "mouths extend into the ſea." It muſt here be obſerved, that the "æſtuary" of Solinus, and the "river" of Bede, are the ſame; but that it was gradually leſſened by a continual decreaſe before the time of Bede; which the Saxon name of the river clearly ſhows; for, in that language, Wantſumu has the ſame meaning that "greatly de- "creaſing" has in Engliſh; laſtly, that this river was paſſable only in two places, not on foot, but by the help of boats. The charter of king Eadbert (5) has tranſmitted

(4) Hiſt. Eccles. i. 25.

(5) Annals of St. Auguſtine's Monaſtery, a Latin MS. in the library of Trinity-hall, Cambridge.

to

to us the names of both theſe paſſages, and admirably illuſtrates and confirms the narrative of Bede. Theſe are the words of that prince: "I give," ſays he, "the in-"come of two ferry-boats at the place "whoſe name is Serr (6), in the ſame manner "as a tax was long alſo granted by Ethel-"bald and Offa, kings of the Mercians, "at a place whoſe name is Lundenwic (7)." Theſe are the two paſſages into the iſland mentioned by Bede; of which the former now communicates with Sarr by a ſmall wooden bridge*; and the latter at Lunden-wic, or Sandwich, is paſſable only in boats†.

We read in our annals, that an (8) Engliſh fleet, ſuch as is no where mentioned in

(6) Sarr, in the iſle of Thanet. (7) Sandwich. See Somner on the Roman ports and forts in Kent," p. 9. It was called Lundenwic, or the port of London, from its being the place where ſuch as were bound to London from France firſt landed.

* This bridge is now of brick.

† A bridge was built there, by act of parliament, in the years 1756 and 1757, which was made a balance-bridge in the year 1762.

(8) Saxon Chronicle, on the year MIX.

the hiſtory of any other king, ſailing to Sandwich, continued there; that Turkill(9) with his fleet, came to England, and being joined by another innumerable fleet of Danes, entered the haven of Sandwich; that the fleet of Harold(1), after ravaging the eaſtern coaſt of Kent, proceeded from Sandwich to Northmuth, and from thence towards London. And here, by the way, it ſeems ſtrange, that Somner(2) and Gibſon(3) ſhould conjecture that Northmuth was at the mouth of the Medway: for, in the firſt place, who is ignorant that the paſſage by ſea to London lies through the mouth of the Thames, not of the Medway? 2. In the map of Lambard(4), the name of Northmuth is given to the northern mouth of the Wantſume, or Stour. 3. Harriſon(5) alſo,

(9) Florence of Worceſter, on the year MIX.

(1) Saxon Chronicle, on the year MLII.

(2) Saxon Dictionary, on the word Northmuth.

(3) Explanation of the names of places at the end of the Saxon Chronicle.

(4) At the end of his Perambulation of Kent. (5) P. 30.

in

in his accurate deſcription of Britain, is of the ſame opinion, and ſays, that "Northmuth " is ſeven miles diſtant from Sandwich." Laſtly, The boundaries of the lands granted by king Eadred to the monaſtery of Reculver, which are publiſhed in Saxon (6), place Northmuth alſo in the diſtrict of Reculver. Theſe, I truſt, are ſufficient proofs that the fleet of Harold ſteered between the iſle of Thanet and the continent of Britain, and ſailed from Sandwich towards London through the northern mouth of the river Wantſume, or Northmuth. So large was the river! A moſt irrefragable argument that the level, through which it flows, was formerly navigable! After this, it is needleſs to quote the deſcription of this iſland by Simeon of Durham (7), which, he ſays, is ſurrounded by the ſea on every ſide, as it appears in an old drawing engraved in the Monaſticon (8); or to introduce the monks of Saint

(6) In Dugdale's Monaſticon, vol. i. p. 87.

(7) On the year 864.

(8) Volume i. p. 10.

Auguſtine's at Canterbury, who, in the year 1313, claimed all wrecks (9) in their manors of Menſtre, Chiſtelet, and Stodmerſch, that is, in the very level of which I am ſpeaking. This diſquiſition ſhall conclude with the teſtimony of John Twyne *, who died in the year 1581 (1), and who ſays, that, in his time, "eight credible "men were living, who affirmed, that "they had ſeen not only ſmall boats, but "large loaded veſſels, frequently paſs and "repaſs between the iſland and the conti-"nent." And let it alſo be remembered, that, a little farther, he aſſerts, that "there "was a naval ſtation at Sarr, about the "midway between Richborough and Re-"culver;" but whether he learned it in

(9) Thorn, p. 2015.

* Head-maſter (or ſupreme moderator, as Anthony Wood ſtyles him) of the free-ſchool at Canterbury, and in 1553 mayor of that city. Leland numbers him among the illuſtrious worthies of his time, and Camden, in his Britannia, mentions him as a "learned old man."

(1) De rebus Albionicis, p. 25.

the

the writings of the ancients, or from common report, or conjectured it from the anchors there dug up, I am at a loſs to diſcover.

To prove that the old haven of Sandwich was confined within the ſame limits which I aſcribe to the haven of Richborough, that is, by the level which lies between the northern and eaſtern mouths of the Wantſume, I need only appeal to the commentaries of our monks (2); for they give us a charter, in which the limits of Sandwich-haven are fixed, on one ſide at Peperneſs, and on the other at Mearsfleote *: but Peperneſs is the promontory at the eaſtern mouth of the river, and Mearsfleote at the northern; which they fix as the limits of the diſtrict of Reculver, mentioned above. To the ſame purpoſe we read in the ſame

(2) King Canute's grant of the port of Sandwich to the prior, &c. of Chriſt Church, Canterbury.

* This opinion has been controverted by the late Mr. Lewis, in a diſſertation read before the Society of Antiquaries, in the year 1744. See it in the Appendix.

com-

commentaries (3): "To them" (namely, the monks) "belong the right of ferrying, "the ferry-boat, and the toll of the ferry-"boat, and of all the veſſels which came "to Sandwich from Peperneſs, as far as "Northmuth:" that is, of all the veſſels, which, coming to Sandwich, anchored in that river; for wherever they were drawn aſhore within thoſe boundaries, they were in the haven of Sandwich, and, on that account, paid toll to the toll-gatherers of the monks. Giraldus Cambrenſis (4), in his excellent work on the rights and ſtate of the church of St. David's, publiſhed by Mr. Wharton, mentions "the outer haven of Sandwich;" which agrees with my ſuppoſition: for the outer haven was that part of the river which lay between Sandwich and the ſea; the inner was that which extended from Sandwich as far as Reculver; and theſe two together formed the haven of Rutupiæ. As to the opinion of ſome learned writers, par-

(3) Evidences of Chriſt Church, Canterbury, in the Decem Scriptores, pp. 2225, 2226.

(4) Anglia Sacra, vol. ii. p. 571.

ticularly

ticularly Somner and Plot, of whom the former (5) contends, that the haven of Rutupiæ was at Sandwich, and the latter (6) at Stonar, I ſhall only ſay, that ſuch diſputants take things doubtful for things certain; that no one will allow, that thoſe towns, placed in ſo low a ſituation, were in being at the time when the harbour of Rutupiæ flouriſhed; that their thoughts and words are much too narrow and confined, who circumſcribe a moſt celebrated, large, capacious haven within the ſcanty limits of thoſe places; that they who enquire on which ſide of the river it ſhould be placed, are mere triflers; that my opinion, which aſſigns to it the whole channel both in length and breadth, is more probable, and more honourable; that, in ſhort, the other is ſupported only by the licence of conjecture, but by no ſolid argument; while mine is eſtabliſhed by the united weight both of authority and reaſon.

(5) On the Roman ports and forts in Kent, p. 9, &c.

(6) In his additions to Camden's Cantium.

I ſhall

I ſhall here beg leave to make a ſhort digreſſion on the ſituation, according to my idea, of the famous *Lapis tituli*, near which, Nennius (7) relates, that the Saxons were ſlain and put to flight by Vortimer; as many have imagined that it was near the places above-mentioned. In particular, Camden (8) and Uſher (9) place it at Stonar, miſtaking the origin of the name, and ſuppoſing it to be derived from "a ſtone." But this error, long ſupported by the authority of ſuch great names, and every day gaining ground, has at length been diſpelled by the diligent ſagacity of our Somner (1), in tracing the true meaning and ſpelling of the word from the remains of antiquity, and thus proving that it ought to be written, not Stonar, but Eſtanore; and that Eſtanore means the eaſtern coaſt, ſhore, mouth, or

(7) Hiſt. Britann cap. XLVI.

(8) In his Cantium.

(9) Antiq. Eccleſ. Britann. p. 223.

(1) On the Roman ports and forts in Kent, p. 94, &c.

haven;

haven (2); which whole deſcription is exactly ſuitable to Stonar. This emendation of Somner is confirmed by the following teſtimony. We are told by the author of the Encomium of Emma (3), that "Thurkill, a Dane, landing in the port of Sandwich, drew up his army againſt the Engliſh in a place called Scoraſtan;" now what is Scoraſtan, but, by tranſpoſition, Eaſtanſcore? And that Eaſtanſcore and Eſtanore are the ſame, thoſe who are acquainted with the Saxon language need not be informed. Somner alſo obſerves, that "this battle was not fought in the iſle of Thanet, in which Stonar lies; becauſe the Saxons (4), being defeated, are ſaid to have fled to their ſhips, and to have ſought ſhelter in that iſland;" the *Lapis tituli* therefore was not at Stonar, or Eſtanore.

(2) In like manner, Cerdicſore, or the port of Cerdic, in Matthew of Weſtminſter, on the year 494, and in many other paſſages of our hiſtorians.

(3) Among the Scriptores Hiſtoriæ Normannicæ, p. 168.

(4) Geoffry of Monmouth, VI. 13.

But,

But, in order to aſcertain its ſituation, the ſame learned writer (5) fixes it at Folkſtone; and in this he has been followed by Stillingfleet (6) and Gale (7), changing the *Lapis tituli* of Nennius into their own *Lapis populi*. The great antiquity of Folkſtone muſt indeed be acknowledged. It muſt alſo be owned, that this alteration of the word favours their opinion; but I heſitate as to the alteration itſelf, which, ſupported by the authority of no ancient books or writings, they have made with more boldneſs than reaſon; and which appears ſo harſh, ſo ſtrange, as almoſt to exceed belief. For the ſame reaſon I omit Langhorn (8), who is ſingular in placing the *Lapis tituli* at one time at Langerſton in Suffolk, at another time between Stone and Fleet near Graveſend. My opinion of it is briefly

(5) On the Roman ports and forts in Kent, p. 97.

(6) Antiquities of the Britiſh Churches, p. 322.

(7) In his notes on Nennii Hiſtoria, cap. XLVI.

(8) Chronicle of the kings of England, p. 24.

this.

this. There was of old in the ſouthern angle of Kent a land-mark, or boundary-ſtone, which was called "the ſtone which "was placed at the extremity of the "land," now Stone-end (9). Such boundary-ſtones, if they had any inſcription on them, were by land-ſurveyors called *Tituli* (1). Thus Venantius Fortunatus (2): "You "know that this title is the limit and "boundary of theſe acres." Lawyers ſay, that "Titles (3) in eſtates are tables in "which the names of the landlords were "inſcribed, that it might be known to "whom the eſtates belonged." And thus, ſpeaking in their language, St. Chryſoſtom ſays (4), "The titles fixed at the bounds "of the eſtates declare the owner." Titular-ſtones therefore were ſuch, as being

(9) See the charter of king Offa, publiſhed by Somner in his treatiſe on the Roman ports and forts in Kent, p. 47, &c.

(1) See Rei agrariæ Scriptores, p. 47, &c.

(2) Life of Medard, chap. v.

(3) See Calvin's Lexicon Juridicum, on the word "Titulus."

(4) Homily CLIV.

placed

placed at the boundaries, had an inſcription engraved or affixed. The place therefore to which I appropriate the *Lapis tituli*, is the ſhore of the French ſea, where, Nennius ſays, the battle was fought; namely, a field near the *Lapis tituli* which borders on the French ſea. Here, in my opinion, Vortimer was victorious, and the *Lapis tituli* ought to be fixed.

Richborough indeed has been honoured with this *Lapis tituli*, from a ſtone that was placed there in the memory of St. Auguſtine, who, in the poem of ſome verſifying monk (5), is ſaid to have landed in that port; but as the battle fought by Vortimer preceded the arrival of St. Auguſtine about a hundred and thirty years, that ſtone ſeems quite out of the queſtion. And as to the ſtory told by Camden (6), that "among the beach "near Stone-end," where I have placed the *Lapis tituli*, "is a heap of larger ſtones,

(5) In the Annals of St. Auguſtine's monaſtery, a MS. in the library of Trinity-hall, Cambridge.

(6) In his Cantium.

"which,

" which the neighbouring inhabitants call " the tomb of St. Criſpin and St. Criſpinian," it is difficult to account for the origin of this vulgar notion, as it is well known that Soiſſons claims the honour of being the burying-place of thoſe martyrs; unleſs there was formerly ſome Roman monument in this place, either a ſtone or a barrow, inſcribed with thoſe names, which the ignorant ſimplicity of the Saxon times perhaps applied to thoſe martyred ſaints; nor would that be ſtrange, as the wild ſuperſtition of the Romiſh church frequently commits ſuch miſtakes even now. There were, however, ſeveral of the name of Criſpinus, who might have been much renowned in Britain: Æmilius Criſpinus (7), for inſtance, was commander of the Auguſtan wing in Britain under the Gordians; there were alſo Criſpiani, who were knights (8); laſtly, there was, in the reign of Domitian, a Criſpinus much commended by Sta-

(7) An inſcription in Camden's Brigantes, or Cumberland.

(8) Notitia Imperii, cap. lxxxix.

tius (9): he was the ſon of Vectius Bolanus(1), governor of Britain under Vitellius, who, the poet (2) ſays, built watch-towers and caſtles there, and alſo left inſcriptions; almoſt all which agrees with the ſouthern and eaſtern coaſts of Kent, nor would it be ſtrange that he ſhould preſerve on ſome inſcription the name of his ſon.

Now, to return from this excurſion, as we have happily reached this haven, let us furl our ſails, and, landing, let us viſit and ſurvey the city and the caſtle. At Richborough there are three objects; the haven, which has been ſufficiently diſcuſſed already; the city, and the caſtle, which ſhall now be particularly conſidered. As theſe have been blended and confounded by our writers, many and unſkilful have been their diſquiſitions, and uſeleſs their diſputes; not agreeing where Rutupiæ itſelf, or the city, ſtood, ſome

(9) Pap. Statius Sylv. v. 2.

(1) C. Taciti Hiſt. 11. and in the life of Agricola.

(2) Statius ibid.

main-

maintaining that it was at Dover(3), others at Sandwich(4), others at Canterbury(5), and others at Rocheſter(6). As for thoſe who dream of Canterbury and Rocheſter, though, in other reſpects, men of learning, yet being foreigners, and unacquainted with our affairs, it would be only loſt labour to confute them. They who contend for Dover, or Sandwich, are our own countrymen, and their opinion has the more weight, on account of the exact knowledge which they had, or certainly might have had, of thoſe places. They who think that Dover and Rutupiæ were the ſame town, follow Matthew Florilegus, the monk of Weſtminſter, and other writers of that ſtamp; but their futility is demonſtrated, firſt, by the Itinerary of Antoninus, which not only makes a diſtinct mention

(3) Twyne de rebus Albionicis, p. 50.

(4) Somner on the ports and forts in Kent, p. 3, &c. and others.

(5) Dominique Mario Le Noir in his Geographie, p. 19.

(6) Paul Jove in his deſcription of England.

of thoſe places, but fixes them at different diſtances from Canterbury; Rutupiæ at XII miles, Dover XIV; ſecondly, by the Peutingerian Tables, in which they are placed ſeparately; laſtly, by the Notitia of the Weſtern Empire (7), where it is ſaid, that "the commander of the troops of "Tongres was ſtationed at Dover, and "the commander of the IId legion (8) of "Auguſta at Rutupiæ." This ſufficiently proves that Dover and Rutupiæ were not the ſame. They who tranſport Rutupiæ to Sandwich, approach nearer to its true ſituation, but have by no means aſcertained it; as many circumſtances prove, that, though Sandwich was not far diſtant, it was not the ſame place. For the city, which we are ſeeking, Camden (9) ſays, "was built on the ſide of a hill, on which "ſtands the caſtle; that its ſtreets croſ-

(7) Page 161.

(8) It is obſervable, that Guy Pancirole, the editor of this work, is ſo careleſs as to aſſert, that "there is no mention of "this legion in the Notitia." See p. 177.

(9) In his Cantium.

"ſing

" ſing each other appear in the field near " the walls of the caſtle, as the corn " grows up, (for there it is thin;) that this " area, when ploughed up, very frequently " affords proofs of its antiquity in Ro- " man coins of gold and ſilver;" and Leland (1) affirms, that, " in his and " preceding ages, more Roman coins were " found there than any where elſe in this " whole iſland." Somner (2), on the contrary, endeavours to remove the city, far diſtant from the caſtle, into a ſwampy marſhy ſituation; a ſituation, which, on account of its unhealthineſs, the Romans (3) uſually avoided in marking out their towns; without producing any antiquity, not even a coin, there dug up, or quoting any good evidence in ſupport of his opinion, except Matthew Florilegus (4), the monk of Weſtminſter, (who relates that

(1) In Somner's ports and forts in Kent, p. 89.

(2) In his ports, &c. p. 3,

(3) Vitruv. Architect. i. 4.

(4) Page 38.

" Julius Cæſar arrived in the port of " Rutupiæ, which is now called Sand- " wich," that is, in the port which formerly was called Rutupiæ, but now Sandwich; where he is ſpeaking not of the city, but of the haven;) and Pancirole (5), a man of learning, but a foreigner, whoſe authority it would be madneſs to oppoſe to that of our Camden. Laſtly, thoſe traces of ſtreets, which, Camden obſerves, were without the caſtle, Somner fixes in the caſtle, proves them to be the foundations of I know not what chapel*, and confutes in Camden what that good man never ſo much as dreamed, viz. that the city Rutupiæ was within the caſtle itſelf. The abſurdity of all this is ſelf-evident.

So much for the city. I now proceed to the caſtle, of whoſe ſituation we can have

(5) Notitia Imperii, p. 161.

* Somner, to prove that there was a chapel here, produces a clauſe from the will of one John Saunder, a prebendary of Wingham, dated in 1509, by which he bequeaths " a maſs- " book, &c. to the chapel of Richborough, and 20l. alſo to " make a new window in the body of the church.

no

no doubt from thoſe excellent remains of it which ſtill appear, on an eminence, about ſeven furlongs from Sandwich*. It had four ſides; 150 paces in length, and 105 in breadth; which was the proportion uſually aſſigned by the Romans (6) to their caſtles; for they thought thoſe the beſt in which a third part of the length was added to the breadth. The walls are twelve feet thick; their height cannot be aſcertained, as it is no where entire. In their circuit, at the diſtance of every three feet and a half, is a double range of bricks, each brick being ſixteen inches long, eleven broad, and one and a half thick: their uſe is evident; as the reſt of the building conſiſted of round beach-ſtones, they were ſtrengthened by the bricks. For a round ſtone is ſtrong

* A view of this caſtle is given by Dr. Stukeley, in plate XCVIII of his Itin. Curioſ. and amongſt his unpubliſhed plates are a S. W. view of it, another of it from Sandwich, 1722, and (what he ſtyles) the Caſtrenſian amphitheatre. There is alſo a N. W. view of it by Buck, 1735.

(6) Vegetius de re militari, p. 161.

againſt aſſaults (7), but deceitful in building, unleſs it is ſecured with ſeveral bandages. That ſuch bandages and faſtenings were effected by alternate courſes, or ranges, of bricks, we are informed by Vitruvius (8); to which method of building Nennius (9), no doubt, alluded, when he related, that there were innumerable caſtles in Britain built of ſtones and bricks. Within, in the area of the caſtle, towards the north, overgrown with briers and thorns, are hidden ſome very ancient and ſolid foundations, which, Somner (1) inſiſts, belonged to a chapel; but as they are in that part of the caſtle where the *Prætorium* uſed to be, I have no doubt of their having belonged to that.

Behind the *Prætorium*, in the north wall, appears the grand gate *, [*Porta Decumana*,]

(7) Plin. Hiſt. Nat. xxxvi. 22.

(8) Vitruv. ii. 3.

(9) Hiſt. Brit. 11.

(1) Ports and forts in Kent, p. 6.

* This gate, Harris ſays, having within memory the figure of a woman's head over it in ſtone, which was imagined by ſome to be that of queen Bertha, was called the "Maiden-gate."

the

the egreſs from which is not ſtrait but oblique, according to the rule of Vitruvius (2); which directs that care ſhould be taken, that the avenues of gates ſhould not be ſtrait but winding (σκαια) *. The whole eaſtern ſide of the caſtle is ſunk down and deſtroyed by the fall of the cliff; the remainder is ruinous: for it is all overgrown with ivy; which is well known to be both the ſign and cauſe of ruinous antiquity, and to have the ſame effect on walls that it has on trees, whoſe deſtruction Laberius (3) aſcribes to it;

> As creeping ivy ſtrongeſt trees impairs,
> So age deſtroys me with embracing years.

Such is the preſent appearance of Richborough; rugged indeed, but venerable. And now in the illuſtration of it, the celebrated names by which it is diſtinguiſhed

(2) De Architect. 1. 5.

* Hence, perhaps, one of the gates of Troy was called "The Scæan."

(3) Macrob. ſat. 11. 7.

in

in Auſonius muſt not be forgotten; namely, of Claudius Contentus, the uncle of that poet,

—— bury'd in Rutupian ground (4),

that is, interred in the territory of that city: alſo of Flavius Sanctus, a relation of Auſonius,

— whom her governor Rutupiæ hail'd (5);

that is, who was commander of the Rutupian garriſon, or the IId legion of Auguſta; laſtly, of Claudius Magnus Maximus, whom the poet ſtyles "the Rutupian robber (6);" becauſe, when he was a pirate (7), he chiefly

(4) Auſon. Parentalia. A large tumulus, about a quarter of a mile weſt from the caſtle, Dr. Harris ſays, might poſſibly be caſt up over the bones of this uſurer.

(5) Ibid. Another fair and large tumulus, a quarter of a mile alſo diſtant from the caſtle, the ſame writer ſuppoſes, may be the tumulus of this old general. Theſe tumuli are called by the inhabitants of Sandwich "the mounts."

(6) In Claris Urbibus.

(7) Latinus Pacatus in his panegyric at Rome before Theodoſius.

frequented

frequented that port; or becauſe there aſſuming the purple, and withdrawing the Roman legions from Britain, he ſailed from thence into the mouths of the Rhine (8). I am aware, that Elias Vinet, every where in his notes on Auſonius, ſays, that "Rutupian ſignifies the ſame as Britiſh;" which opinion, though highly honourable to Rutupiæ, as if it gave its name to all Britain, I fear is not true; any more than the ſtory which I have heard from the people of Sandwich, that there was of old, near Richborough, a temple of Æſculapius; and that, in this century, a brazen cock was dug up there, an offering perhaps to that god, ſuch as Socrates, we are told, vowed with his dying breath (9): "Crito, ſacrifice a cock "to Æſculapius!"

But to return. The frequent mention of Rutupiæ by ancient writers, who have treated of our affairs, ſufficiently ſpeaks its

(8) Zoſimi Hiſt. lib. IV. p. 248.

(9) Plato in his Phædon.

renown;

renown; for it is ſung by Lucan, Juvenal, and Auſonius; it is celebrated by Tacitus, Ammianus Marcellinus, and Oroſius; it occurs in the Geography of Ptolemy, in the Itinerary of Antoninus, in the Index of the anonymous writer of Ravenna, in the Peutingerian Tables, and laſtly in the Notitia of the Weſtern Empire: the city is ſaid to have been founded by Cæſar's army, and to have been almoſt proverbial with them who had more than once ſeen Cæſar's navy diſtreſſed and wrecked by the boiſterous ſurges of that coaſt. Rutupiæ derives ſtill farther renown from the frequent and conſtant arrival of the Roman fleets in that port. Of Julius Cæſar, Claudius, and Veſpaſian, as it is doubted where they landed, mention ſhall be made more fully in another place: what follows is certain and unqueſtionable; namely, that, when Julius Agricola(1) commanded in Britain, the Roman fleet arrived in the haven of Trutulum, or Rutupiæ; that Lupicinus(2),

(1) Tacitus in his life of Agricola.

(2) Ammian. Marcell. xx. 1.

maſter

maſter of the armour, being ſent hither in the reign of Conſtantius, ſailed from Boulogne to Rutupiæ, over againſt it; laſtly, that Theodoſius (3), paſſing ſlowly croſs the ſtreight, arrived at Rutupiæ, a calm ſtation on the oppoſite ſide.

Beatus Rhenanus is of opinion, that, inſtead of *portus Trutulenſis* (the haven of Trutulum) we ſhould read *Rutupienſis* (of Rutupiæ) and this alteration has been almoſt univerſally adopted by the learned: but, for my part, I cannot think that this word ſhould be raſhly changed, or inconſiderately rejected. The river, in which I maintain that the port of Trutulum was ſituated, is well known to abound with trouts; there, to adopt the words of Alain de L'iſle (4), "the trout entering the ſalt-"water, is baptized in the ſea, and aſ-"ſumes the name of Salmon;" and why might not the Romans be as well ac-

(3) Ibid. xxvii. 8.

(4) In his book De planctu naturæ, quoted by J. Sirmond in his notes on the Apol. of Sidonius, ep. ii. 2.

quainted

quainted with the trouts of the Rutupian haven, as with the oyſters (5) of the Rutupian bay?

But leſt my reader ſhould be cloyed with trouts, they ſhall now be removed; and, inſtead of them, I will ſet before him the Amerbachian inſcription quoted by Camden (6), in which that learned writer thinks that Triputium is mentioned, a place not known in Britain. The words with which we are concerned are theſe (7):

NYMPHIS O
N̄. O. BRITTON.
TRIPVTIEN. O &c.

But, in my opinion, this relates to our Richborough, and inſtead of TRIPVTIENO, we ſhould read RIPVTIENO. Such tranſpoſitions are not unuſual: with us the ſame

(5) Juvenal, ſat. IV. ver. 140.

(6) On the name of Britain.

(7) Grut. XCIII. 5.

town

town is called Καμυλοδολανον and Camulodunum; and the ſame people of Britain are ſtyled by Ptolemy Δοβενοι, and by Dion (8) Βοδενοι. But what need of words? I remember, as I was one day walking with the Thomas's *, in the ſchool of Sandwich, or, as they loved to call it, of Rutupium, Timothy, who was then maſter of it, produced a manuſcript Juvenal with the Scholiaſt, and caſting my eyes on that verſe in which "the "Rutupian bay" is mentioned, I found the very tranſpoſition of ſyllables of which I am ſpeaking; for thus I read—

—— —— *Ruputinove edita fundo*
Oſtrea (9) —— ——

and in the Scholia, "Riputia is a city of "Britain, famous for large oyſters; hence

(8) Hiſt. Rom. lx.

* Two brothers, John and Timothy; the former, rector of St. Peter's and vicar of St. Mary's in Sandwich; the latter, maſter of the free-ſchool in that town, and vicar of Preſton in that neighbourhood. His only daughter married the rev. Mr. Goſtling of Canterbury.

(9) Juv. ſat. iv. ver. 140.

"it

" it is called the Ruputian bay and the " Ruputian town." The initial T I do not abſolutely reject; but changing it for I, I place it at the end of the preceding word; and if it be allowable for a Briton to correct a German writer, or ſculptor, in a Britiſh word, I would read it thus:

NYMPHIS O
ÑO BRITTONI
RIPVTIENO.

As to the antiquity of Rutupiæ being controverted by ſome, who have ſaid (1), that it did not flouriſh much in the time of Cæſar, but that all the ſhips from Gaul arrived at Dover, and that for this we have the authority of Cæſar (2) himſelf, who ſays, " The iſland is naturally triangular: " one ſide is oppoſite to Gaul; the other " angle of this ſide, which is towards Can- " tium, where almoſt all the ſhips from

(1) The author of the notes on Du Freſne's diſſertation de portu Iccio, pp. 93 & xxiv. Cluverii Germania Antiqua, II. 28.

(2) De bello Gallico, v. 10.

" Gaul

" Gaul arrive, faces the eaſt; the lower ſide " the ſouth;" I am ſo blind as to ſee in this nothing more applicable to Dover than to Richborough. For thus I would argue: That Dover did not flouriſh much in the time of Cæſar, but that all the ſhips from Gaul arrived at Rutupiæ; and this I would confirm by the ſame paſſage from Cæſar. But firſt, we ſhould aſcertain what Cæſar meant by the word *Cantium*, and ſee whether the ambiguity of it has not occaſioned the miſtake. Is it not evident that this great commander ſpeaks of all the open coaſt of Kent, all which he ſtyles maritime, and not of any particular promontory of that ſhore? It is indeed the opinion of Ortelius (3), that " Cæſar calls all that coaſt of the iſland " which extends towards the eaſt, *Cantium*." And Cæſar ſays, that, to this coaſt, as it was neareſt to Gaul, the Gallic merchants uſed to ſend their ſhips; but of Dover he ſays nothing. I do not deny that ancient writers mention the promontory Cantium, that they ſtyle it " the neareſt promontory to

(3) Theſaur. Geograph. on the word " Cantium."

" the continent (4); oppoſite the mouths " of the Rhine (5); the moſt uſual land- " mark of Britain; the promontory Can- " tium (6)." As Cluverius (7) places that promontory between Dover and the village of St. Margaret (8), and ſuppoſes it to be the ſame as the Cantium of Cæſar, he raſhly aſſerts that all the ſhips from Gaul arrived at Dover. But why not rather at Rutupiæ, which, it is certain, was not only in the Cantium of Cæſar, but alſo gave its name to the whole maritime coaſt of Kent? Beſides, if Dover alone then flouriſhed, why was all this coaſt called, from the beginning, *Rutupinum*, and not *Dubrinum?* Since ſuch appellations uſually derive their origin from the principal and moſt remarkable place. But to return to Cæſar's deſcription: he ſays, that " Can-

(4) Diodor. Sic. IV.

(5) Strabo IV.

(6) Ptolemæi Tabb. Geograph.

(7) Germ. Antiq. II. 28.

(8) The South-foreland.

tium,

" tium, to which the Gauls reſorted, faced " the eaſt, but the reſt of that angle looked " towards the ſouth;" in that is Richborough, oppoſite to the eaſt; in this, Dover, almoſt over againſt the ſouth. Let any one judge which place is moſt favoured, in point of antiquity, by the paſſage quoted from Cæſar.

The conjecture of Cluverius, in placing Cantium between Dover and the village of St. Margaret, is ſupported by no argument, and countenanced by no authority. It is abſolutely irreconcileable with the calculation of Ptolemy, as he places Cantium and Rutupiæ in the ſame latitude; which is by no means applicable to Dover, that being ſituated much lower to the ſouth. That prince of geographers, if Camden judges right, makes the promontory Cantium the extremity of this angle, that is, he would have it to be that promontory of Thanet which we call the North-foreland. As to the objections which may be made, that the promontory which he ſuppoſes to

be Cantium, and Rutupiæ, are not in the ſame latitude, the latter being more ſoutherly, and that Cantium cannot be ſome furlongs more eaſterly than Rutupiæ, as beyond Rutupiæ there is nothing to the eaſt but the ſea itſelf, theſe two difficulties may be ſolved at once, by ſuppoſing that there were two Rutupiæ, and that the other, when the Roman government declined in Britain, was called Regulbium, now Reculver. And if by Rutupiæ we underſtand that Ptolemy here meant the Regulbian Rutupiæ, (as I do not ſee why we ſhould not) his calculation will be clear and right, both as to the longitude and the latitude of that place.

This argument of the ſituation of Cantium ſeems favoured by Strabo, who ſays, that it was near the mouths of the Rhine; nay, at ſo ſmall a diſtance as to be ſeen from them: for ſpeaking of the ſituation of Britain and Celtic Gaul, he ſays, that "their eaſtern parts, near each other, "are in ſight, the one of Cantium, the "other of the mouths of the Rhine (9)."

(9) Geograph. lib. 1, IV.

Somner

Somner (1), on this occaſion, has animadverted on Strabo, but unjuſtly; for thus he explains himſelf, in another place (2); that Itium, a dock for the uſe of paſſengers, belonged to the mouths of the Rhine, and therefore was included in that name; therefore, where he ſays, that the mouths of the Rhine could be ſeen from Cantium, this muſt be underſtood of Itium: but take his own words: "There are four uſual "paſſages from the continent into the "iſland, namely, from the mouths of the "rivers Rhine, Seine, Loire, and Garonne. "They who paſs over from the neigh-"bourhood of the Rhine, do not ſail from "the very mouth of it, but from Artois, "on the confines of Brabant, where alſo "is Itium, which Cæſar uſed as a dock, "&c.*" Theſe things well conſidered, the ſuffrages of the learned will, I doubt not, acquit Strabo. And ſo much for the ſituation of Rutupiæ and Cantium.

(1) In his Portus Iccius. (2) Lib. IV. p. 138.

* The modern names, as being moſt intelligible, are adopted in this tranſlation.

But now ——

Fair [Thanet] is in view, an iſle well known
To fame (3) —— ——

Whatever therefore I have heard, or read, concerning it, I ſhall proceed to mention. And firſt, the natives boaſt, I am told, that the emperor Claudius landed in that iſland, at the place which is now called Weſt-gate. But though common report, which by length of time is nearly allied to truth, ſhould not haſtily be rejected; yet, on the other hand, it ſhould not eaſily be admitted, when it is ſupported by no authority, and when it can be oppoſed by a probability of the contrary: and ſuch I apprehend to be the misfortune of this tradition. For it has not been tranſmitted to us by any ancient writer; nor is it likely that the emperor Claudius ſhould make uſe of any other place for diſembarking in this iſland than that which Cæſar uſed before. Bucher (4) thus argues concern-

(3) Virg. Æn. 11.

(4) Belgium Romanum, p. 147.

ing

ing the place from which he ſet ſail on his voyage to Britain: "Why ſhould Claudius, "or Caligula, the firſt who paſſed over into "Britain with an army after Cæſar, prefer "any other port, yet unknown or untried, "to that of Cæſar? Why ſhould they pre-"tend to be wiſer than Julius?" Which way of reaſoning is no leſs applicable to the place where Claudius landed than to that where he embarked; eſpecially when the paſſage into the iſland was free and open, the Britons having no fleet by ſea, nor army on land, to oppoſe an enemy: for then, having been defeated by Aulus Plautius (5), they were driven beyond the river Thames. Thanet alſo, they think, is highly honoured by having formerly had in it Rutupiæ, the moſt celebrated city of the Cantii: that this is affirmed by John Leland (6), we have the evidence of Lambard (7): I cannot think, however, that

(5) Dion. Caſſ. Hiſt. Rom. lx.

(6) Manuſcript collections in the Bodleian library, vol. iii. p. 138.

(7) In his Perambulation of Kent, p. 91.

the words of Leland will bear this conſtruction: but it is not worth while to examine them. Rutupiæ, in my opinion, was neither in the iſle of Thanet, nor on the continent of Britain; but in a particular iſland, which the Wantſume formed near its eaſtern mouth: as the low and marſhy level, by which the territory of Richborough is encloſed on every ſide, demonſtrates, to all who obſerve the ſituation of the place, that it was formerly ſurrounded by water.

And now we are in this iſland, I cannot but obſerve, ſo fruitful is its ſoil, ſo plentiful its crops, that when we are told, that Britain abounded with wheat, and even ſupplied other nations with corn (8), many reaſons induce me to think that this chiefly related to Thanet; firſt, the convenience of the haven of Rutupiæ, by whoſe waves it was waſhed, and which, as has already been ſhown, was fit for the reception of fleets, freighted with corn;

(8) Ammian. Marcell. xviii. 2.

ſecondly,

ſecondly, the ſmall diſtance of Cantium (9) from the mouths of the Rhine, by which proviſions uſed to be carried from Britain to the continent (1); laſtly, the fruitfulneſs of the iſland itſelf, and of the neighbouring fields, whoſe fame, celebrated by the ancients, continues undiminiſhed even in modern times. For ſuch it is at preſent, as it was formerly deſcribed by Solinus (2), "happy in "corn-fields, and a fertile ſoil." Suppoſe, therefore, I ſhould ſay, that Artemidorus (3), the geographer, had Thanet in his view, when he related, that "there was an iſland "near Britain, in which ſacrifices were "offered to Ceres and Proſerpine, the "goddeſſes of corn, with the ſame rites as "in Samo-thrace?" This ſuppoſition perhaps could not be eaſily diſproved.

(9) Strabo Geogr. libris I. IV.

(1) Eunapii legation. p. 211. Zoſimus, lib. III. Juliani Epiſtola ad S. P. Q. Athen.

(2) Polyhiſtor. cap. XXIV.

(3) Strabo lib. IV. p. 137.

As to thoſe, who are of opinion (4), that the Toliapis of Ptolemy, and Thanet, are the ſame iſland, this ſeems to have little foundation; as it by no means agrees with the calculation of Ptolemy; for he makes the difference of a whole degree and a quarter in longitude between Toliapis and Rutupiæ, which adjoins to Thanet; let Sheppey therefore enjoy the name of Toliapis; a name which it well deſerves, as being moſt commodiouſly ſituated, at the mouths of the Medway and the Thames, for the exacting of duties, which perhaps uſed to be paid in thoſe rivers; and ſuch a duty in the Britiſh language is called Tolli, or Tollfa, now Toll.

The name of Thanet [*Tanatis*] I am inclined to derive from the fires that were kindled at night, as guides to navigators, on the cliffs of that iſland *, as is alſo the

(4) Leland, in a manuſcript in the Cotton library, Julius. C. 6.

* This learned writer ſeems not to have conſidered, that, in thoſe times, ſhips ſeldom or never ſailed round the North-foreland, as they do now, but between the iſland and the continent.

By

the practice now, fire being in the British language called Tan. But of this nothing can be determined till the true reading of that word is ascertained, for there are almost as many names of that island as there are copies of Solinus, as has been observed by Camers (5). I think, with Salmasius (6), that it should be written *Tanatis*. Amidst these various readings, Athanatis, or Athanatos, always reminds me of those islands scattered

By Higden it is called Thanatos, Death, for which he gives this reason, founded on a false matter of fact; viz. "That no snakes "will live there; nay that the earth of that island carried elsewhere is death to them." Polychro. lib. 1. c. 44. Somebody has writ in the margin of the manuscript "quod incredibile." Though I think it is as credible as what follows: "That the land here is believed to have contracted the blessing "of fruitfulness from the coming of Augustine, the first teacher "of the English, who landed there."

Lewis's Hist. of the isle of Tenet, p. 2.

Mr. Lewis, therefore, supposes it took its name from the fires, or beacons, which were kept there to give notice to the continent of any invasions or incursions made by the Danes and other pirates, to which that island lay very much exposed, Tene, in Saxon, signifying "a fire, or beacon."

(5) On Solinus.

(6) Exercit. Plin. in Solinum, p. 247.

round

round Britain, ſome of which were called "the iſlands of gods and heroes," on account, as it was ſuppoſed, of their divine inhabitants; for Demetrius of Tarſus, the grammarian, who viſited one of them, is introduced by Plutarch (7) giving this account. From ſuch fables perhaps the iſland of which I am ſpeaking might be called "the iſland of immortals."

Wonderful is the ſtory, which Camden (8) has given us, from Tzetzes (9), of ſouls departed, and now endowed with immortality, paſſing over from the continent of Gaul into our iſland. But Procopius (1), not Tzetzes, was the author of that narration; he, as I conceive, heard it from the monks, who by fabulous ſtories of that kind uſed to obtain an exemption from

(7) Περι των υπολοιπων χρησηριων.

(8) Britann. p. 2.

(9) Comment. in Lycophron. p. 179.

(1) Γοτθικων. IV. 20.

tribute

tribute for themſelves and their dependents; for they are ſaid to have been under the juriſdiction of the Franks, but not to have paid them tribute on account of the ſervice before-mentioned which they performed by tranſporting the ſouls of the dead into Britain. To this ſtory another by Antony Muret (2), no leſs humorous, may be added; namely, that ſome hiſtorian has related, that Julius Cæſar once made a voyage to Britain with a ſingle galley, and a hundred men; and being charmed with the wonderful beauty of the country, on his attempting to make a ſettlement there, he was forcibly driven out by thoſe inviſible inhabitants. This, if ever, muſt, I ſuppoſe, have happened when Cæſar being about to ſail to Britain, previouſly and alone explored the harbours, navigation, and acceſs to the iſland, as we are informed by Suetonius (3).

But leaving theſe fables, let us return to Rutupiæ, and conſider the origin of that

(2) Var. lect. v. 1.

(3) In Julio Cæſare, cap. 58.

name.

name. Camden (4) derives it from the Britiſh words *Rhyd-tufith*, or "ſandy bot-"toms." But as our Rutupiæ is conſtantly ſtyled *Rutubi portus*, both by Oroſius (5) and Bede (6), and as there was alſo a *Rutubi portus* in Gaul, in the time of Julius Cæſar, why may we not conclude, on the authority of Cæſar himſelf, that our port derived its name from that in Gaul? For he juſtly obſerves, that "thoſe who "paſſed over into Britain from Belgium, "[that is, Belgic Gaul,] were almoſt all "diſtinguiſhed by the names of thoſe very "diſtricts, from whence they ſprung." Hence there are among us the Attrebatii (7), Belgæ (8), Cenimagni (9), Pariſii (1), and

(4) Britannia, in Cantium.

(5) Lib. 1. cap. 2.

(6) Hiſt. Eccl. Angl. 1. 1.

(7) Now Oxford, or Buckingham.

(8) Somerſet, or Wells.

(9) Suffolk, Norfolk, and Cambridgeſhire.

(1) In Yorkſhire, near Lincolnſhire.

other

other diſtricts of the ſame names with thoſe of Gaul and Belgium. Hence our Cantii (2) are named from Cantia (3), a river in Belgic Gaul, the Iceni (4) from the promontory Iceium, and the Britons themſelves from the Belgic Britons. And that this paſſage of Cæſar is to be underſtood not only of diſtricts but alſo of towns, we may learn from Condate (5), Cæſaromagus (6), Mediolanum (7), Noviomagus (8), which, whether they are the names of towns or diſtricts, are derived from the Gauls and Belgians. Ordericus Vitalis (9) gives the

(2) Kent.

(3) Now Canche, in Artois. See Ægidii Buccheri Belgium Rom. 1. 5.

(4) Suffolk.

(5) Congleton in Cheſhire, and Rennes in Britany.

(6) Chelmsford in Eſſex, and Beauvais in the iſle of France.

(7) Evreux in Normandy.

(8) Nimeguen.

(9) Hiſt. Eccl. lib. x. p. 864. among rerum Normannicarum Scriptores.

follow-

following account of *Rutubi portus*, a harbour in Gaul, taken, as he ſays, from the ancient Roman hiſtorians: "Rutubus, a "powerful and cruel tyrant, held an im- "pregnable fortreſs, as it was thought, "on a hill near the Seine; by which he "curbed the adjacent country, and the "veſſels that navigated the neighbouring "river. Cæſar, hearing of this, haſtened "thither with his army, and ſtormed the "fort, which was called *Rutubi portus:* the "marks and ruins of this town are well "known by the intelligent natives." Thus Ordericus; but as he produces no proper vouchers for his account, his authority cannot be deemed ſufficient evidence.

I muſt not, however, diſmiſs this ſubject without obſerving, that the iſle of Thanet, which forms the haven of Rutupiæ, was called by the Britons *Inis Rubin* (1), or *Ruithina: rhuo*, in their language, ſignifies "to roar;" which Camden

(1) Nennii Hiſt. Brit. xxviii. where, in Gale's notes, are the various readings of this word.

under-

underſtands of the porpuſſes on that coaſt; but I ſhould rather apply it to

—— —— the black waves, that roar,
And madly laſh the trembling ſhore (2).

If we compound the word *rhuo* with *tywyn*, which ſignifies "a ſhore," it gives a derivation of the name exactly ſuitable to the deſcription of Lucan (3),

—— —— rages the Rutupian coaſt.

I ſhall add the opinion of an anonymous and unpubliſhed author (4), namely, that "the Rutupian coaſt is ſo called either "from *rupes*, a rock, or from the Rutini, "a people of Gaul, now Boulogne;" which affinity of the Gallic Rutini and our Rutupini ſeems to be confirmed by Male-

(2) Hor. ode III. 27.

(3) Lib. VI.

(4) On the origin of Dover caſtle, a manuſcript, in the Cotton library, Veſpaſ. A. 5.

branche (5), who thus writes concerning the Rutheni: "All that part of the coaſt "which lies betwen Calais and Dunkirk "our ſeamen even now call Ruthen. Add "to this that the ſea-coaſt of Kent was called "Rutupiæ, and the neighbouring inha-"bitants Rutupi, which Ruthen, they ſay, "means 'a rotten ſhore."

To proceed now to Regulbium (Reculver;) this place is mentioned only in the Notitia of the Provinces, which ſeems not more ancient than the time of Theodoſius the younger: but who can ſuppoſe that a place equal to Rutupiæ, both in ſize and antiquity, ſituated very near, intended for the ſame uſe, in its caſtle and city very ſimilar, ſhould have remained till the time of Theodoſius, unnamed and undiſtinguiſhed? This profound ſilence as to Regulbium, increaſes my ſuſpicion* that there were formerly two Rutupiæ, and that when the Roman empire declined and was almoſt

(5) De Morinis, lib. 11. cap. 1. p. 86.

* See p. 36.

ruined

ruined in this iſland, one of them was called Regulbium *.

All that is ſaid of Regulbium in the Notitia of the Provinces is this; that "the "Tribune of the firſt cohort of the Vetaſii "was ſtationed there (6)." Guy Pancirole, who wrote a commentary on it, conjectures, that, inſtead of Vetaſii, we ſhould read either Vetaraſii, from Vetaraſia, a city of Belgic Gaul, or Vetuſii, who, according to Pliny, were the Alpine inhabitants of Italy. But

* It is probable, that towards the declenſion of the Roman empire, they called both the caſtles, or watch-towers, as well Regulbia as Rutupiæ; and, if ſo, it will account well enough for our ſailors calling this place always in the plural number, "the Reculvers;" unleſs you will chuſe to think that way of ſpeaking comes from the two ſteeples, or ſpires, which are ſtill ſtanding at the weſt-end of the church.

Harris's Hiſt. of Kent, p. 246.

In like manner, the two caſtles at the entrance of the Helleſpont are called "the Dardanelles."

By the way, the ſea continues to gain ſo much on this coaſt, that it is feared this famous ſea-mark will in a few years be waſhed away, the ſupport of it being much beyond the abilities of the pariſh, and the inhabitants having in vain applied to the Trinity-houſe for their aſſiſtance.

(6) Notitia Imperii Fol. 161. Venet. 1597.

in ſo clear a caſe what need of conjectures? The Betaſii are a people of Belgic Gaul, [near Juliers] mentioned by Oroſius (7), Pliny (8), Tacitus (9), and, if we may believe Beatus Rhenanus (1), by Cicero (2) himſelf. Oroſius (3) informs us, that they inhabited the coaſt neareſt to Rutupiæ, in the following paſſage: "The port of "Rhutupium, not far from the Morini, "[the people near Picardy and Artois] has "a diſtant view of the Southern Menapii, "[Brabant, &c.] and the Bataſii*;" and Cluverius (4) proves them to have been the ſame with the Atuatici of Cæſar.

(7) Lib. 1. cap. 2.

(8) Hiſt. Nat. IV. 17.

(9) Hiſt. lib. IV.

(1) Rerum German. lib. II.

(2) Ep. ad Atticum, XIV. 10.

(3) Lib. 1. edit. Paris. 1506.

* In the edition of Mentz, 1515, inſtead of Bataſios we read Batavos.

(4) Germ. Antiq. II. 22.

Bede

Bede affirms (5), that "Regulbium was "situated near the northern mouth of the "river Genlade:" this was the ſame as Wantſume; unleſs that part of the ſtream, which was near Regulbium, was called Genlade, and the part near Rutupiæ, Wantſume. In a manuſcript of Bede, preſerved in the library of St. James's church at St. Edmundſbury, this river is named Ealande, as if it were an inſular river, or one that forms an iſland: what name was given it by the Romans, I know not, unleſs it were the Sarr, [*Sarra*] which the anonymous writer of Ravenna reckons among the rivers of Britain: and this conjecture is not ill-founded, as the moſt ancient paſſage into the iſland retains at this day the name of Sarr. But to return to Regulbium; being ſituated on a ſhore ſhelving towards the ſea, it is almoſt all ſwallowed up by the waves; for the cliff on which it was built being compoſed of that kind of ſand which Vitruvius (6) calls

(5) Hiſt. Eccl. v. 9.

(6) De Architect. II. 4.

" earthy," is eaſily waſhed away by the tides, which, at the full of the moon, eſpecially when the wind is northerly, riſe there to a great height, and, being undermined, falls continually into the ſea: after its fall, being ſeparated by the force of the waves, and the earthy part being waſhed away, bricks, vaſes, coins, and other ſuch weighty and ſolid ſubſtances, appear on the ebbing of the tide, and are collected by the inhabitants. By theſe falls, many acres of land have been, and are daily, waſhed away, to the no ſmall loſs of the proprietor *, to whom, as lord of the manor, all thoſe antiquities legally belong.

Of the Roman buildings nothing now remains but the traces of a caſtle †, part

* Now Sir George Oxenden, bart.

† The ſituation of the watch-tower, and alſo of the place where was the Roman ſtation of the Vetaſii, was certainly on the hill where the church now ſtands, and where alſo the monaſtery ſtood, though between the times of the Romans and its monaſtic ſtate, it certainly was the ſite of a royal palace, not only for king Etheldred I. but alſo long after for his ſucceſſors, kings of Kent. Harris.

of

of which is undermined and thrown down by the ſea; what is left has ſo great a reſemblance to the caſtle of Richborough, that, whether we conſider the ſituation, the form, or the manner of their ſtructure, there can be no doubt of their both being built by the ſame hand. There is alſo a ſmall building by the ſea-ſide, which, becauſe it is almoſt entirely of bricks, and of that kind which we call Roman, and has a wonderful appearance of antiquity, the inhabitants pretend to be built by the Romans*. But ſeveral buildings in which theſe bricks appear muſt not be deemed Roman. Who, for inſtance, can ſuppoſe that the Romans built St. Martin's church, juſt without the walls of Canterbury†? or

* Dr. Harris affirms this to be Dr. Battely's own opinion, and then proceeds to confute it by the ſame argument which he has here uſed, namely, of its being probably erected out of the ruins of the town or caſtle. But the miſtakes in his Hiſtory of Kent are endleſs. See that work, p. 246.

† St. Martin's near Canterbury is ſaid by all our writers to be the identical church which queen Bertha gave to Auguſtine, the monk, to celebrate divine ſervice in, but, from the form of the arches, pillars, windows, &c. we may venture to pronounce it to have been rebuilt ſince K. Henry II.

Bp. Lyttelton in Archæologia, vol. 1. p. 143.

the chapel of St. Pancras in St. Auguſtine's monaſtery? or the tower of the church in Dover caſtle? or, laſtly, the walls of Canterbury, though Roman bricks

Redden in every wall, in every tower?

For do we not find, in the ſame buildings, traces of much later times, which diſcover them to be modern, and that they have been patched up and repaired with the ruins of Roman buildings, but were not conſtructed by the Romans themſelves? The dimenſions of the bricks are various and uncertain; but approach nearer to the διδωρον [two palms] of Pliny (7), which was half a foot long, and a foot broad, than to that of Vitruvius (8), which was a foot long, and half a foot broad; for moſt of them are from fifteen to eighteen inches in length, and in breadth generally one third leſs. But to proceed: when a part of the cliff, being undermined by the waves, fell

(7) Hiſt. Nat. xxxv. 14.

(8) Architect. II. 3.

down

down ſome years ago, I remember, ſome brick foundations of great bulk were diſcovered, in which were ſome ſmall vaults arched over, and while I was examining them with my hand, I ſaw ſome fragments of a teſſelated pavement, and of other Roman works; but I only ſaw them; for very ſoon after, either broken by the waves, or ſwallowed up in the ſand,

—— Ev'n theſe ruins were deſtroy'd.

The force of the waves demoliſhing the cliff has diſcovered, in particular, ſeveral ciſterns. Of theſe the ſize varies, though the figure of all of them is the ſame, namely, a ſquare; the length of each ſide is from ten to twelve feet, the depth the ſame. As to the method of conſtruction, they conſiſt of poſts driven deep into the ground, and the ſides are every where cloſed up by oaken joiſts fixed to the poſts, two inches thick; the bottom is ſtrengthened by the ſtiffeſt potter's clay, thrown in and well trodden down, leſt the water,

oozing

oozing out, ſhould be ſucked up by the ſand; in ſhort, they are not unlike our tan-pits. Some ciſterns, perhaps of the ſame kind, which were found in Canterbury *, are, on account of their ſimilitude, ſtyled by Somner (9) (who knew not what they were) "pits and other like tanners "utenſils:" this I ſuſpect to have been the caſe with the ciſterns diſcovered ſome years ago at Spalding in Lincolnſhire (1); but be that as it may, that our ciſterns at Reculver were deſigned for receiving and preſerving rain-water, is evident, not only by their mode of conſtruction, but alſo by the neceſſary want of them; as all the ſprings, which riſe in that neighbourhood, are brackiſh: and if they were ever ſo freſh, yet they would not have been preferred by the Ro-

* Near the Bull-ſtake market-place, now the Butter-market. Theſe ciſterns were probably intended for the preſerving of rain-water in ancient times when the ſea, or æſtuary, flowing up as high as Chartham, freſh water was with difficulty procured.

(9) On the bones found at Chartham, p. 5.

(1) Philoſophical Tranſactions, No. 279. p. 1158.

mans

mans to rain-water, which, on account of its wholeſomeneſs, was choſen by the ancients in preference to all other water(2); and though Pliny (3) ſeems to think and maintain the contrary, he allows that ciſtern-water was moſt approved by ſome.

It would ſeem incredible, that wooden poſts and planks could laſt above 1400 years, if we were not not aſſured by the prince of architects(4), that "oak, when "buried under ground, will laſt for ever;" that alder, even "in a marſhy ſoil, thick "ſet in piles beneath the foundation of "buildings, never decays:" the truth of which is confirmed by trees that have been dug up in various places, and which not only the vulgar, but even the learned, ſuppoſe to have been felled before the deluge. On handling the poſts and planks at Reculver, I found ſome of them quite

(2) Vitruvius VIII. 2. Columella de re ruſticâ, I. 5. Palladius de re ruſticâ, I. 17.

(3) Hiſt. Nat. XXXI. 3.

(4) Vitruv. II. 9.

ſound,

ſound, and almoſt as hard as a ſtone; others were ſo ſoft and rotten, as to be eaſily bored with the finger; which, as they were not of the ſame kind of wood, I ſuppoſe, was owing to the difference of the materials. Of theſe ciſterns ſuch a multitude has been diſcovered, almoſt in our memory, as proves that the ancient inhabitants of the place were very numerous.

As to the origin of the name Regulbium, without examining and confuting the opinions of others, moſt of which are trifling, it may, I think, be derived from the old Britiſh word *rhag*, which ſignifies "before," and *gwylfa*, "watching;" theſe words joined form *rhagwylfa*, or "the former watch-"tower;" but if, inſtead of *gwylfa*, we compound *rhag* with *goleu*, it will be *Rhaggoleu*, "the former light," or "light-houſe;" either of which, beſides the ſimilitude of ſound, agrees exactly with the ſituation and convenience of the place. For Reculver is the firſt watch-tower that is ſeen on the

Kentiſh

Kentiſh coaſt by ſhips ſailing out of the Thames, whence it is juſtly ſtyled "the firſt "watch-tower:" the caſtle alſo commands a view not only of the open ſea, but of the mouths of thoſe noble rivers the Thames and Medway; on which account it was uſed as a watch-tower, to diſcover the approaches of an enemy, and alſo as a light-houſe, to guide ſailors, by fires kindled every night: and this purpoſe is now anſwered by the two ſteeples of the church placed in the caſtle itſelf, for the ſake of avoiding the reefs and ſhallows in the mouth of the Thames. So much for the name Regulbium, unleſs I add, that, in the Saxon writings, it is ſtyled, on account of the caſtle, Raculfceſter, and on account of the monaſtery, Raculfminſter.

The reaſons that induce me to give Richborough the palm of antiquity, as to the Romans, in preference to all other places in Britain, are theſe. When the Egyptians and Scythians had a diſpute concerning the antiquity of their nations, the

Egyptians

Egyptians highly extolling the mildneſs of their air and the fruitfulneſs of their ſoil, ſaid, that "men might be ſuppoſed to "have been firſt born in a place where "they might moſt eaſily be reared (5);" and though the chance of birth is not in the power, nor depends on the choice, of thoſe who are born, but is allotted to every one by the Almighty; yet when the queſtion turns on thoſe things which are uſually directed by counſel, judgment, and prudence, this method of reaſoning ought to have great weight. For inſtance; who doubts that the Romans, when they landed in our iſland, firſt took poſſeſſion of ſuch places as they judged moſt convenient for their purpoſe, not ſuch as were offered to them by chance? But what was more convenient to the Romans than Richborough haven? For thither troops might be tranſported by a ſhort paſſage from Gaul, there they might be ſafely landed, and, if purſued by the enemy, might have an eaſy

(5) Juſtini Hiſt. 14. 1.

retreat.

retreat. The iſle of Thanet, very convenient for foraging, was in the neighbourhood; the harbour was one of thoſe which the Greeks call αμφιδυμοι (6), being acceſſible on both ſides, and ſafely entered almoſt with any wind: the river Stour, after paſſing by our city (Canterbury,) flows into it *, and is ſtill uſeful to us, by the carriage of goods. Allured by theſe con-

(6) See Favorinum.

* Harris, in his Hiſtory of Kent, p. 351, ſays, that "the "greater Stour runs by Stodmarſh, Grove-ferry, and Sarr, "and then taking in a brook on the left hand that comes "from Chiſlet, it runs into the ſea at Newhaven, [near Recul-"ver,] and the leſſer or eaſtern Stour, a little beyond Stour-"mouth, (once perhaps the common mouth of both the Stours) "winds northward, and joining the firſt ſtream, runs with it into "the ſea." The river alſo which riſes at Great Mongeham and flows to Worth and Sandwich, he ſays, "paſſes by Richborough, "Ebbesfleet, and Nethercourt, and meeting with the firſt great "river Stour near Sarr, runs with it into the ſea." By this account, no river flows into the ſea at or near Sandwich, and from the confluence of theſe three one would expect the river at and below Sarr to be at leaſt as wide as it is at Stodmarſh and Sandwich; elſe what becomes of the water? By his map indeed one would think it was ſo. But whoever ſurveys it will find it far otherwiſe: and though the tide ſometimes ebbs and flows as high as Grove-ferry, our hiſtorian might ſoon have been convinced that it came not from the northern but the weſtern branch, from Sandwich, not from Newhaven.

veniences,

veniences, the Romans ſailing hither from Gaul, generally made uſe of that harbour.

Dubris and Lemanis [Dover and Lympne] are, it muſt be owned, celebrated harbours on the ſame coaſt, and both their names occur in the Itinerary of Antoninus; but who ſuppoſes thoſe places comparable to Richborough, which, in the ſame Itinerary, is ſtyled, by way of eminence, "the haven "of Britain;" and on the decline of which, our Somner (7) juſtly thinks that Dover at length began to flouriſh. In ſhort, certain it is that Julius Cæſar, as well on account of his perpetual wars, as of the ſhortneſs of his ſtay in our iſland, left none but haſty fortifications, that is, compoſed of earth and turf; though the credulous and the ignorant extol him as the founder and builder of almoſt all the caſtles in Britain. Nothing was attempted here under the emperors Auguſtus and Tiberius; Caligula, with ridiculous warlike preparations,

(7) Of the ports, &c. p. 33.

and

and great endeavours, did abſolutely nothing. At length Claudius, by the inſtigation of Bericus, Aulus Plautius being his general, reduced to his obedience the ſouthern part of the iſland; which war happened in the year of Rome 796, of Chriſt 47. At that time I ſuppoſe Richborough to have been firſt beſieged by the Romans, and to have been ſeized, fortified, and garriſoned; for if this had been done by Cæſar himſelf, or by any other general before the time of Claudius, there would have been no occaſion for A. Plautius (8), when going over into Britain with his army, to ſeparate his forces into three diviſions, leſt making an attempt at one place they ſhould be prevented from landing; and Plautius, a wiſe and experienced commander, would have made it his firſt and immediate concern; as, on penetrating into the inner parts of the iſland, he had great occaſion for ſuch a convenient ſpot, as well for receiving ſuccours from Gaul, as for providing a place of retreat in caſe of

(8) Dion Caſſius Hiſt. Rom. LX.

accidents. Such is the origin of Richborough, traced from the fountain-head. Some indeed carry it back as far as Cæſar, and maintain that he landed at the mouth of this harbour. But with what reaſon let the reader judge.

Firſt, almoſt all agree that he landed on the Rutupian coaſt, that is, between Richborough and Dover, though they differ as to the place; ſome fixing it at Deal, others at the mouth of the harbour of Richborough. Thoſe who contend for Deal, rely on the authority of Cæſar (9), who relates, that "proceeding about eight thouſand "paces [eight miles] from that place, "which he thought by no means proper "for diſembarking, he anchored his ſhips "on a plain and open ſhore:" which diſtance, every one knows, is more ſuitable to Deal than to Richborough. But though, I think, great deference is due to the authority of Cæſar, yet I do not hold it ſo ſacred, that it may not ſometimes be called

(9) De bello Gall. IV. 21.

in

in queſtion: Cluverius (1) certainly did not ſcruple to charge this great commander, who never erred in war, with erring, however, in his meaſurement of our iſland. Theſe objections, therefore, I think, may be offered to the advocates for Deal; namely, that the number "eight thouſand paces" does not occur invariably in all the editions of Cæſar; next, that it is begging the queſtion to ſay, that Cæſar, at his firſt arrival here, would have landed in the harbour of Dover; as there are other places on that coaſt no leſs difficult of acceſs than Dover, on account of the "wonderful cliffs," by which Cicero (2) affirms that the approaches to the iſland are fortified. Laſtly, who but muſt allow, that Cæſar ſailing near an unknown coaſt, with the wind and tide in his favour, of whoſe force, he acknowledges, his people were ignorant, being driven farther perhaps than he ſuſpected, might poſſibly miſtake in his calculation, eſpecially when we conſider

(1) Germ. Antiq. 11. 38.

(2) Epiſt. ad Atticum, 1v. 16.

how unſkilful and inaccurate the ancients were in meaſuring diſtances by ſea?

No one has inveſtigated the time of Cæſar's landing in Britain with more preciſion and learning than Dr. Halley (3); but in diſcuſſing the place of his landing, his ſucceſs is by no means equal to his induſtry: for in order to prove that Cæſar diſembarked in the Downs, he appeals to the teſtimony of Dion Caſſius (4); whoſe words are theſe: "Cæſar, becauſe the "Britons having intelligence of his ap-"proach, had previouſly ſeized all the "places proper for diſembarking, doub-"ling a certain promontory, which pro-"jected into the ſea, approached another "part of the coaſt, and there defeated "the enemy, who attacked his troops on "their landing, in a marſhy place, and "took poſt on the ſhore." The difficulty is to underſtand the true meaning of τενάγη, which moſt tranſlators render "marſhes," but Halley "at the water's edge." The

(3) Philoſ. Tranſact. No. 193. (4) Hiſt. Rom. lib. xxxix.

rea-

reaſon is obvious; there were no marſhes in the place where he ſuppoſes the deſcent to have been made, but only ſands; therefore, in oppoſition, I think, to all Greece, he annexes that meaning to the word τέναγος. Ariſtotle has diſtinguiſhed theſe two, ἀμμώδης, (ſandy,) and τεναγώδες, (muddy.)

The learned Scholiaſt, on that paſſage of Apollonius Rhodius (5),

Πάντῃ γὰρ τέναγος ———

ſays, "τέναγος is a marſhy place." Plutarch (6), relating the action performed by Scæva, at the landing of Cæſar, ſays, "it "happened in a place that was marſhy "and full of water, and near ſome muddy "ſtreams;" which expreſſions ſeem clearly to intimate, that there was in the place where they fought, a river, or ſome muddy ſtreams, ſuch as can ſcarce be found on the Deal coaſt; for there is only ſand, than which nothing can be more ſteady, or more proper

(5) Argonautic. IV. 1237.

(6) In his life of Cæſar.

for a firm footing, on which account it uſed even to be ſpread in the theatres. Let Dion's deſcription, which, as to the nature of the ſhore, directly contradicts Cæſar's narration, be now compared with the mouth of Richborough harbour. A promontory was there; that being doubled, ſuch a harbour appeared as Cæſar (7) ſought, "fit to "receive a number of large ſhips." There, as is uſual at the mouths of rivers, was a marſhy and muddy ſhore, on which Cæſar's ſoldiers leaping from their veſſels could not "keep their footing (8):" on the ſame promontory was Cæſar's naval camp, if Plot be right in his conjecture, as he has told me that he had there often diſcovered traces of it. Long ago, and many years before Plot, Mr. Darell of Kent (9), a moſt learned antiquarian, affirmed that "Cæſar encam-"ped with his army on the promontory of "Richborough, and from thence the place

(7) De bello Gallico, IV. 18.

(8) Ibid. IV. 24.

(9) A manuſcript in the Cotton library, Veſpaſ. A. 5.

"was

" was called Cæſar's Camp." Be this as it may, it ſhould, I think, be remembered, that the promontory which Cæſar doubled was not the modern Peperneſs, which was then covered by the ſea, but now appears on the waves retiring, but rather the utmoſt extremity of the ſhore, wherever it was, or by whatever name diſtinguiſhed, which was on the left hand of thoſe who entered the harbour of Richborough, and now perhaps is far diſtant from the ſea.

Which of theſe opinions has moſt advocates, is doubtful. " Almoſt all agree " that Cæſar landed in the Downs," ſays Somner (1). The place where Cæſar diſ- " embarked is generally ſuppoſed to be " Richborough or Sandwich," is affirmed by Du Freſne (2). Nennius (3) indeed

(1) De portu Iccio, p. 50.

(2) De portu Iccio, p. 101.

(3) Hiſt. Britan. cap. 14, 18.

maintains that "Cæſar landed in the mouth "of the Thames," and Geoffry of Monmouth (4) ſometimes calls it "the mouth "of the Thames," and at other times "the harbour of Rutupiæ." But theſe opinions, though at firſt they ſeem irreconcileable both with Cæſar and themſelves, may eaſily be made conſiſtent with them both, by ſhewing that Richborough itſelf, and all the Rutupian coaſt as far as Dover, were in the mouth of the Thames. Certain it is, that the mouths of rivers have their limits, ſome preſcribed by nature, others by the will of man, common uſage, and the right of domain. The citizens of London (5), in the xvith century, claimed "a right to the conſervacy of the "river of Thames from London-bridge to "Yenland and the Reculvers." The author of Polychronicon (6) ſays, "the Thames "flows into the eaſtern ſea at the port of

(4) Ibid. iv. 3, 7.

(5) Stow's Survey of London, p. 25.

(6) Lib. i. p. 196.

"Sandwich;"

" Sandwich;" and Malmſbury (7), " the " Thames retains its name for above ſe- " venty miles below London, and loſes " itſelf in the ſea at Dover." I have been aſſured by the ableſt ſeamen that the navigation from Dover to London, as it now lies round Thanet, is eighty miles. If it could be carried on by the inner paſſage through the harbour of Richborough, as it then was, it would agree with the calculation of Malmſbury, and prove that it was well founded *.

It remains to aſcertain the place from which, according to my idea, Cæſar ſailed, as well as that at which he landed. Of theſe I apprehend the firſt to have been Boulogne [Geſſoriacum] and the other Richborough. That Cæſar ſailed from thence, we are informed both by him-

(7) De geſtis Pontif. lib. 11.

* The greateſt antiquaries, Burton, Horſley, and Gale, agree with our author, as to the place of Cæſar's landing. See a diſſertation by the latter on Cæſar's paſſing over the Thames in Archæologia, vol. 1. p. 183.

ſelf

ſelf (8) and by Strabo (9). Fruitleſs have been the endeavours of ſome to ſeparate Itium from Geſſoriacum, and to transfer it to another place. Cæſar's voyage from Itium to Britain was about xxxx miles; for ſuch is the reading in the moſt authentic copies; this alſo is approved by the moſt learned writers (1), and is moſt clearly confirmed by Strabo; who ſays, that "Cæſar's paſſage to Britain was "320 furlongs, or 40 miles." Laſtly, which is the principal point of all, and which I have learned from the moſt experienced ſeamen, the true diſtance between the mouth of Richborough harbour and Boulogne is forty miles.

On account of the frequency of paſſing from Geſſoriacum to our iſland, that place was

(8) De bello Gallico, v. 2.

(9) Geogr. lib. iv. p. 305. edit. Amſt. 1707.

(1) Iſ. Caſaubon on the ivth book of Strabo. Jo. Jac. Chifflet. de portu Iccio, cap. vi. Merulæ Coſmograph. pars ii. lib. iii.

called

called "the Britiſh port of the Morini (2);" nor do they ſeem to have had any other: on account of the frequency of landing at Rutupiæ, that was ſtyled, as if no other was worth mentioning, "the port of the "Britiſh iſlands (3);" and as we had nothing at that time more famous than Rutupiæ, ſo, as we are told by Pomponius Mela (4), nothing was more celebrated among the Morini than Geſſoriacum. It cannot indeed be denied, that the Itinerary of Antoninus makes the diſtance between Geſſoriacum and Rutupiæ 450 furlongs; ſo alſo does Dion Caſſius (5): Pliny (6) reckons the paſſage to Britain from Geſſoriacum, the neareſt coaſt of the Morini, 50 miles at leaſt: and Diodorus Siculus (7) not

(2) Plin. Hiſt. Nat. IV. 23.

(3) Antonini Itin.

(4) Lib. III. c. 2. See alſo Flori I. II.

(5) Hiſt. Rom. XXXIX.

(6) Hiſt. Nat. IV. 16.

(7) Hiſt. lib. IV. p. 30.

more

more than 100 furlongs. But from what has been ſaid it is apparent, that, in theſe numbers, there is an egregious miſtake. For how could Britain be diſtant from the continent 50 miles or more, when Cæſar, by the teſtimony of Strabo, relates, that the moſt commodious harbour of Gaul was no more than 40 miles diſtant from the moſt celebrated harbour of Britain? After Julius Cæſar, Suetonius (8) relates, that Claudius paſſed over from the port of Geſſoriacum: it is ſaid by others (9), that Veſpaſian, being ſent by Claudius, and attempting to enter the port of Rutupiæ, was prevented by Arviragus. While Agricola commanded in Britain, Tacitus (1) mentions the arrival of the Roman fleet at the port of Trutulum, or Rutupiæ: we learn from Ammianus Marcellinus (2), that Lupicinus, maſter of the

(8) In his life of Claudius XVII.

(9) Geoffry of Monmouth, IV. 16. Matthew of Weſtminſter, on the year 52.

(1) In his life of Agricola, 38.

(2) Hiſt. XX. 1.

armoury,

armoury, being ſent hither by Conſtantius, ſailed from Bononia, [Boulogne] to Rutupiæ, over againſt it: by the ſame writer (3) we are informed, that Theodoſius, paſſing leiſurely over the ſtrait, came from the coaſt of Bononia to Rutupiæ, a calm ſtation on the oppoſite ſide: in ſhort, all the time the Romans were maſters of our iſland, Rutupiæ (or Richborough) was the only port where they diſembarked: there, I conclude, Cæſar landed, and after Cæſar, others, following his example, landed at the ſame place: though, it muſt be owned, there were alſo ſeveral other ports on our coaſt, of which only the names occur in the Roman hiſtory.

Even before the coming of Cæſar, the origin of Rutupiæ may be carried as far back as the origin of commerce in this iſland, and that, as well on account of the commodiouſneſs of its harbour, as of its nearneſs to the coaſt of Gaul; nor could a place ſo convenient for the uſe of merchants

(3) Hiſt. xxvii. 8.

be

be long unoccupied. At leaſt, no one will deny, that Rutupiæ was one of the maritime towns, which, as Cæſar (4) informs us, was ſeparated from the dominions of Caſſivellaunus by the river Thames. Among theſe I give the precedence, in point of antiquity, to the maritime towns of Kent, particularly to Richborough, for the ſame reaſon by which Salluſt (5) proves that towns were very ſoon built in Libya, becauſe, being divided by a ſtrait from Spain, they had begun to interchange commodities.

As Richborough is illuſtrated by the external teſtimony of ancient writers, ſo the antiquity of Reculver is irrefragably proved by the internal evidence of ſo many remains there diſcovered; for what can be more certain tokens of the remoteſt antiquity, than the conſular denarii, the coins of almoſt all the emperors from J. Cæſar to Honorius; and, in particular, the braſs coins of Tiberius and Nero, ſharp, and, in

(4) De bello Gallico, v. 9. (5) De bello Jugurth.

appearance,

appearance, freſh from the mint? Are not theſe clear proofs that the Romans at firſt ſettled in that place, and dwelt there as long as they ſtayed in this iſland; and that thoſe ſharp coins were either left there by chance, or buried by deſign, before they were worn and brightened by frequent uſe? For though they might poſſibly be buried long after the times of thoſe emperors, yet it ſeems much more likely that they were depoſited in the earth at the time, when, by the authority of thoſe princes whoſe images and inſcriptions they bear, they had ſome value, or, as modern lawyers love to ſpeak, were current: for to what purpoſe ſhould they be hidden, when they ceaſed to be in uſe? Eſpecially, if it be true, as is commonly aſſerted by thoſe who are beſt acquainted with the ſubject, that "the coins "of the Roman emperors circulated for a "very ſhort time after their deaths, and "had no value, unleſs they were melted "down and re-coined (6)."

(6) Walker's Greek and Roman Hiſtory illuſtrated by medals, p. 15.

I pro-

I proceed now to what may reaſonably be deduced from the order, diſpoſition, number, and other circumſtances attending the coins that have been found. Such as are found incloſed in a pot, or lying together in a heap, we may conclude, were all buried at the ſame time; and that time may nearly be diſcovered by the lateſt of them: of this we have an inſtance in a great treaſure dug up in the Venetian territories (7), in the year 1681, conſiſting of 50,000 Roman coins, incloſed in earthen veſſels, of which thoſe of Gallienus being the lateſt, not one in his ſenſes would doubt that they were buried in the reign of that emperor; for how could it happen, that, in ſo vaſt a heap, not one ſhould appear of any of his ſucceſſors, as it was cuſtomary for them to coin money immediately after they had received or ſeized the purple? But if ſuch treaſures lie plentifully ſcattered, diſperſed, and, as it were, ſowed among the ruins of ſtationary camps or towns, then we muſt attend to their ſeries; and if that commences with the

(7) Journal des Sçavans, A. D. 1681, p. 280.

beginning

beginning of the Romans ſettling among us, and goes down, almoſt without interruption, to the time of their leaving us, it demonſtrates the great antiquity of the place, and ſhows that it was occupied at firſt: and this is evidently the caſe with Reculver.

In order to explain how ſo great a number of Roman coins came to be left in Britain, let it be premiſed, that many reaſons which have been aſſigned ſeem utterly improbable; for who can perſuade himſelf that ſo many and ſuch great treaſures were hidden in the earth to perpetuate the memory of that people, that they might again by chance be brought to light, after a revolution of many ages? Or that, for ſuch a trifling glory, coins were depoſited in the foundations of buildings? But allowing this to be a probable ſolution of ſuch as ſometimes appear in foundations, and in the cement of walls; what ſhall we ſay of thoſe which are found in fields and meadows, where there are no remains of buildings? There can be

no doubt that the miſtreſs of the world was as ſtudious to preſerve the preſent honour of her name, as to immortaliſe her memory in future; but by public works, magnificent edifices, trophies, triumphal arches, theatres, columns, fortifications, paved cauſeways, and the like, ſhe endeavoured to excite the admiration of her own and the veneration of ſucceeding ages. Theſe that wiſeſt of all nations, next to juſtice, fortitude, and the other virtues, rightly conſidered as the moſt certain ſeeds of glory; not the ſcattering of a few braſs coins, which, though they derive ſome permanence from their materials, yet, while they lie in the earth, reflect no praiſe either on their owners or others: while, on the contrary, the very ruins and remains of palaces, houſes, temples, aqueducts, and bridges always ſtrike the human eye, and diſplay ſuch an inexpreſſible grandeur and magnificence as ſcarce allow us to ſuſpect that there ever was any thing mean or little in that nation; for we are ſo formed by nature, that we

uſually judge of the things which are not ſeen by thoſe which we ſee.

This difficulty is not ſufficiently ſolved by thoſe (8) who pretend, that theſe treaſures were buried by the ſoldiers juſt before they were tranſported by Maximus into Gaul, or by the Britons on their ſetting out for Rome to ſolicit aſſiſtance againſt the Scots and Picts: for if that were true, it could only include the later coins of the Romans. The following ſolution therefore ſeems more probable. Spartian (9) relates, that "Pe-"ſcennius Niger ordered the ſoldiers to "carry no gold nor ſilver coins to war in "their purſes, but to lodge them in the "public treaſury, and afterwards to re-"ceive what they had entruſted, that, in "caſe of misfortunes, the enemy might "receive no part of the ſpoil." This, I imagine, was an ancient military diſcipline, which had been diſuſed long before the time

(8) Saxon Chron. on the year ccccxviii. William of Malmſbury, 1. 1. Continuer of Bede, 1. 2.

(9) In his life of Peſcennius Niger.

of Peſcennius, and, when revived by him, did not long continue; but that it was rather uſual for every ſoldier, when ſetting out for a campaign, or at the eve of a battle, to have the option of carrying his effects with him, or of hiding them in what place he pleaſed. Afterwards I ſuppoſe this to have been the practice of the Roman army in our iſland, whenever they were drawn out of their camps, or ſtations, to make long and uncertain marches againſt the enemy; and this was very often the caſe, as well on account of the commotions of the Britons, as of the ſudden irruptions of the barbarians; at which time, in hopes of returning, and recovering their property, they depoſited their money in the ground: thus by the treaſures of thoſe who were ſlain in battle we are enriched. The ſame may be ſaid of thoſe who being either beſieged, or diſlodged from their caſtles and towns, had no opportunity to remove their money; and this is the reaſon that ſuch coins are generally found near towns and ſtations: in ſhort, to the fatal events of war, to the

ſtorming

ſtorming and burning of houſes, towns, and cities, we owe great part of our antiquarian wealth.

And this reminds me of a conjecture of Plot, who inſiſts that our Reculver was formerly burnt, either by accident, or by an enemy: and indeed ſuch vaſt maſſes of metal have been found there, eſpecially of a thin plate, which, adhering to braſs, had ſome particles in it of pure gold, and which muſt have been formed by the melting of ſome braſs and gold coins which lay together *; that his conjecture, which ariſes from this circumſtance, ſeems to me well founded. From the great number of coins, and the vaſt quantity of metallic maſſes, that have been found at Reculver, it has alſo been generally ſuppoſed that a mint was formerly eſtabliſhed there (1): and perhaps with reaſon. Du Freſne (2) produces ſome

* Great quantities of this mixed metal have been found there ſince Dr. Battely wrote.

(1) In his additions to Camden's Britannia, on Kent.

(2) De inferioris ævi numiſmat. p. 37.

coins, on which the place, where they were ſtruck, is marked thus: PR. R. RB. RE. RPS. RT. RVPS. but all theſe, in oppoſition to ſome of the letters, he endeavours to wreſt to Rome or Ravenna; and, with equal raſhneſs, he tells us, that the coins marked thus, ML. PLN. LON. PLON. were not ſtruck at London, but at Lyons. But why ſhould not I exert my privilege of conjecturing, and interpret thoſe legends in my way, thus: RVPS. *Rutupiis pecunia ſignata*, [money ſtamped at Rutupiæ;] PLON. *percuſſa Londini*, [ſtruck at London.]

As to the Roman colonies in Britain, none of my Reculver coins are ſtamped with any of their names, and ſuch perhaps never exiſted. And though I am aware that the colonies of Camulodunum(3) [Maldon,] Eboracum [York,] and Deva [Cheſter,] are mentioned on coins; and alſo that London (4) is ſaid to have been burnt by colonies brought by Claudius; to this I an-

(3) See Camden in Eſſex, York, and Cheſhire.

(4) Vaillantius de nummis percuſſis in Claudio.

ſwer:

ſwer: that Camulodunum was a colony, the authority of Tacitus (5) added to the teſtimony of the Tarraconian inſcription (6) does not ſuffer us to doubt; but of the coin which Camden produces on that ſubject I have a juſt ſuſpicion; as on it the title of the emperor XVIII is joined with the tribunitial power XII, which is utterly inconſiſtent with ancient inſcriptions. From many coins I will produce two (7) only that are quite oppoſite to this, one of which has TRIB. POT. X. MP. XVIII. the other, TRIB. POT XII. IMP. XXVII. What therefore will become of the coin which rather confounds than connects the tribunitial power XII with the emperor XVIII? Eboracum is honoured with the title of a colony on a ſtone which Camden(8) ſaw, and has tranſmitted to us; but as to the coin of Severus, which he produces in confirmation of it,

(5) Annal. lib. XII.

(6) Gruter, p. CCCCXXXIX. Inſcr. 5.

(7) Ex Onuphrii Panvinii Faſtis ad. A. V. C. 803, 805.

(8) In his Brigantes.

I ſuſpect that of this he only heard but never ſaw it; for if he had, why did not he inſert ſo curious an antiquity in his tables of coins, as it was juſtly entitled to a principal place among them? The proof too of Cheſter (9) having been a colony relies on one coin of Geta, of which alſo Camden has given us only the reverſe. But Vaillant, if I remember right, has not ventured, on the authority of Camden, to rank any of theſe coins in the valuation and number of thoſe which were ſtruck in the colonies; which certainly he would have done, if he had ſeen them himſelf, or thought them genuine. Every one knows how apt even the learned are to miſtake on ſuch ſubjects, and with what readineſs that credulity, which finds an eaſy entrance even into the beſt minds, admits ſtories which are falſe, if they have but the appearance of probability. Both theſe cauſes, I fear, concurred in regard to that monſtrous coin of Domitian, publiſhed by biſhop

(9) In his Cornavii.

Gibſon

Gibſon in his edition of Camden (1), on which the editor, converſant as he was with antiquity, thought he read DOMITIANVS CALCARAVCI, and imagined it referred to Calcaria (Tadcaſter,) a town in Yorkſhire. But how unuſual, how abſurd is it for the name of a town to occupy that part of a coin, on which the head appears, which is always reſerved for the titles of the emperor? The ſource of this miſtake may be eaſily traced. Several coins of that emperor are ſtamped thus: CAESAR. AVG. F. DOMITIANVS. When the learned writer read this inſcription, beginning with the name DOMITIANVS, among the worn out letters he thought he diſcovered CALCARIA. This will appear more evident, if we compare the true legend of the coin with the fictitious or imaginary one, letter for letter, thus:

DOMITIANVS. CAESAR. AVG. F.
DOMITIANVS. CALCAR. AVC. I.

where, it may be obſerved, the letters in

(1) Page 732.

both

both are the ſame, but thoſe in the laſt line are a little diminiſhed by length of time.

So much for Calcaria: I now return to London; which I wonder Vaillant ſhould ſtyle a colony, and ſay that it was brought into Britain by Claudius; as he produces no coin, no author, to prove it; nor can I conceive what led him into this miſtake, unleſs it was his miſunderſtanding the ſubſcriptions of the 1ſt council of Arles (2). Among them indeed appears that of "Adelfius biſhop of the city Colonia of the "Londinenſes;" but that does not relate to London, as immediately before Adelfius is the ſubſcription of "Reſtitutus biſhop of "the city of London." What city that "Colonia of the Londinenſes" was, has been diſputed by our writers, and is not yet determined; but that London was not honoured with the name of a colony, Tacitus (3) expreſsly affirms, which entirely over-

(2) Concil. Galliæ per Jac. Sirmondum, tom. 1. p. 9.

(3) Annal. xiv.

throws

throws the fiction of Vaillant. There is indeed a Greek coin of Britannicus produced by Camden, of which ſome love to avail themſelves to prove that London was then the metropolis; others earneſtly contend for it as for the Palladium of their city; in particular, Mr. Evelyn*, who, in his letters to me, advances no other argument, than that it would be a diſgrace to us to loſe ſo ſignal a memorial of antiquity and honour. But that this coin has no manner of relation to us has been more than ſuſpected by that excellent writer Nicholas Fabricius de Petriſco(4); and Ezekiel Spanheim(5), with his uſual ſagacity, has juſtly ſent it to Corinth, never more, I imagine, to be recalled into Britain.

I treat the coins that are brought to me from Reculver, juſt as I have treated the

* John Evelyn, eſq; of Wotton in Surrey, F. R. S. author of Sylva, &c. &c. a pioneer, as he juſtly ſtyles himſelf, in the ſervice of the Royal Society. He died in 1705-6, aged 86.

(4) In Epiſt. ad Camdenum LXXVI.

(5) De uſu ac præſtantiâ numiſmatum, p. 647.

coins

coins of Camden; if I ſuſpect any of them, I minutely examine them in every way; if they are placed out of their ſeries, I replace them; if they are ruſted and obſcured by age, I reſtore the vaniſhing letters as ſkilfully as poſſible. If, in the ſtudy of coins, in which I am only a novice, many of my aſſertions ſhould ſeem raſh and rather too bold, the infirmity of human nature muſt be my excuſe; for moſt men are apt to be fooliſhly loquacious on the ſubject of the art in which they are only learners; for this, however, they are not always blameable; as by ſuch ſkirmiſhes, ridiculous perhaps to the learned, the ſcholar at length gains experience. I will therefore proceed to mention the Reculver coins, though I am ſenſible that the knowledge of them will be very little ſerviceable to the cauſe of literature. Their uſe, if they have any, is chiefly this, that as they are undoubtedly genuine, by frequently handling and obſerving them, the ſpurious may be the ſooner and the more clearly detected, and by a long and uninterrupted acquaintance with

with them, a more certain experience may be acquired in coins, than by the various and minute rules delivered by writers on this ſubject; for the ſpurious being placed near the true immediately betray themſelves by ſome ſelf-evident marks of novelty.

As to thoſe, in my collection, of Severus, Caracalla, Julia, Geta, Heliogabalus, and others, which are of braſs ſilvered over, with regard to the metal, they are indeed ſpurious, an evil, which, under thoſe emperors, had debaſed the coin, but with reſpect to antiquity, they are undoubtedly genuine, and, as ſuch, eſteemed by the learned and the admirers of ſcarce and ancient coins; all of them, however, are not waſhed with ſilver; in ſome, that whitiſh leaf, with which they ſeem to ſhine, I diſcovered to be tin; for the coin being held to the flame of a candle immediately melted and ran, which would not have happened in ſo gentle a heat, if it had been ſilver: this I experienced more than once. In the fields, or on the ſhore, of Reculver, innu-

innumerable braſs coins alſo are collected, which, though ſmall and rough, are, however, Roman, as appears by the heads, with which they are ſtamped, being crowned either with laurel or a diadem, and, on the reverſe, either military enſigns, or horſemen overthrowing the enemy, or the ſhe-wolf with Romulus and Remus. The ſmalleſt of them ſcarce weigh the twentieth part of a Roman drachm: theſe I ſuppoſe to have been coined either in the decline of the empire, or in ſome public emergency, and were valued by number, not by weight. The manner of making them I apprehend to have been this; the melted braſs was caſt, like our ſhot, in very ſmall balls, or globules; theſe the mint-maſter ſtruck: nor is this conjecture void of proof, as many ſuch globules have been found, unſtruck, together with ſuch as have been ſtruck, or coined; and ſome, but few, have been found made of lead, and that of both ſorts, ſtruck and unſtruck. In the ſame place too are dug up ſome of the gold coins, which are called Britiſh, made of the metal which is

ſtyled

ſtyled *Electrum*, or of that kind of braſs, which, Pliny (6) ſays, contains about one fourth gold. There are alſo ſome ſilver medals inſcribed with barbarous marks, which ſeem to be neither Britiſh nor Gothic, but rather ſtruck by ſome of the ancient Gauliſh princes. Some of them are engraved in the new tables of Camden (7); in thoſe of Reculver, this only is obſervable, that evident and moſt certain marks of the Chriſtian religion appear in almoſt all of them: ſuch are figures bearing a croſs in their hands; the ſame enſign between two figures ſtanding; ſtanding between two croſſes; a bird, perhaps a dove, perched on a croſs (8), as in our ſceptres, and almoſt every where croſſes, the Chriſtian military enſign.

Among this large collection of Roman coins, there are ſeveral which are ranked by

(6) Hiſt. Nat. xxxiv. 8.

(7) Tab. ii. Numm. 24. iv. 35.

(8) Camden, Tab. ii. Numm. ii.

Vaillant

Vaillant and others among the ſcarceſt; there are ſome indeed, perhaps *uniques*, which are omitted by Mediobarbus, and all the other writers on coins that I have ſeen. To name all would be both tedious and needleſs, nor are they all as uſeful as they are rare. I will therefore only mention one or two, which tend to illuſtrate the hiſtory of Britain. There is one ſilver coin of Severus with a figure ſtanding between two military enſigns, which has this inſcription:

SEVERUS. PIUS. AUG. BRIT.
PONTIF. TR. P. II. COS....

Here Severus, in the "ſecond" year of his tribunitial power, is ſtyled *Britannicus*, which title, however, was not given him till the "eighteenth" year of his tribunitial power, which was the laſt of his life; as, with this ſingle exception, the learned know, coins, ſtones, hiſtory itſelf, conſtantly and unanimouſly declare. That emperor (9) was indeed ambitious of conqueſt, and of

(9) Herodian. III. 14.

the

the name of *Britannicus*; which brought him, then old and afflicted with the gout, into this iſland; where, from the wall which he built acroſs it, and not before, he received that name (1). Happening to ſhow this coin to a French gentleman, who was an adept in this ſcience, he thought the difficulty might be ſolved, by ſuppoſing that the reverſe of this denier was not of Severus, but of Caracalla; as ſuch miſtakes frequently happen by the negligence of coiners. But how inadequate is this ſolution, as it appears by his own coins that Caracalla was firſt elected conſul, not in the "ſecond," but in the "fourth" year of his tribunitial power? I rather think that it is a coin of Severus, and was ſtruck in our iſland by Clodius Albinus, who commanded the Britiſh troops: to this opinion I am in-

(1) Æl. Spartianus in Severo XVIII. Biſhop Gibſon, in his additions to Camden, vol. 1. p. 114, aſſerts indeed that "Severus lived moſt of his time in Britain, and ſometimes perhaps reſiding at Saliſbury might give to it the name of "Severia;" an overſight in that learned writer which is unaccountable.

duced by the narration of Herodian (2), viz. that "Severus, juſt ſeated on the "throne, determining to allure Albinus, "of whom he was jealous, with the bait of "honour, ſtyled him Cæſar, in his letters "intreated him to undertake the principal "care of the empire, and ordering money "to be ſtamped with his image, and ſtatues "to be erected to him, inſured his favour "and fidelity." Thus Herodian. Does it not therefore ſeem reaſonable and likely, that Albinus might then make a like return by ordering this coin to be ſtruck, adding the title of *Britannicus*, which perhaps he knew to be moſt acceptable to Severus*?

Another coin of Severus, found at Reculver, is alſo perhaps ſingular. It has the head of Severus, and, on the reverſe, a

(2) Herodian. II. 15.

* Spartian however affirms that this title was conferred on Severus by the ſenate, at the time of his own expedition, on account of the wall which he built from ſea to ſea. This was eleven years after the death of Albinus, and ſixteen years after the emperor had given him the title of Cæſar, &c.

figure

figure between two military ſtandards, with this inſcription,

L. SEPT. SEV. PERT. AVG. IMP. X.
CONCORDIAE. MILITVM.

This ſeems to have been coined at the time when Severus, juſt ſetting out for Alexandria, increaſed the pay of his ſoldiers, and perhaps applauded their concord. There are others, which are both ſingular and uſeful. Cardinal Noris (3), in order to prove that Carauſius obtained terms of peace from the emperors Diocleſian and Maximinian, together with the dominion of Britain, and the title of Auguſtus, appeals to the teſtimony of Eutropius; and in order to confirm it, produces a ſingular coin of Carauſius from the collection of the Great Duke of Tuſcany, thus inſcribed:

IMP. C. CARAVSIVS. P. F. AVG.
PAX. AVGGG. S. P. M. IXXI.

where, by the letters AVGGG. he ſays, Diocleſian, Maximinian, and Carauſius, *Au-*

(3) In explicatione nummi Diocletiani, p. 23.

guſti, (or emperors,) are meant. I have another of Carauſius, found at Reculver, and quite ſingular, on which is the head of that emperor, crowned, and, on the reverſe, a type of Providence, with this inſcription,

IMP. C. CARAVSIVS. P. F. INV. AVG.
PROVID. AVGGG. C.

by which it appears that he was not only admitted to a ſhare in the government of the world by Diocleſian and Maximinian, but alſo, on account of his ſucceſs in war, arrogated to himſelf even the name of "invincible." Which happily illuſtrates that paſſage of Eutropius, where he relates, that "when wars had ineffectually been "tried againſt that moſt experienced com-"mander, peace was at length concluded." But farther, to authenticate the coins of Carauſius, leſt ſingly he may be thought an incompetent witneſs in his own cauſe, I can produce Diocleſians and Maximinians, found at Reculver, ſtruck in the ſame mint, and confirming the Carauſian coin:

IMP.

IMP. C. DIOCLETIANVS. P. F. AVG.
PAX. AVGGG. S. P. M. IXXI.
IMP. C. MAXIMIANVS. P. F. AVG.
PAX. AVGGG. S. P. M. IXXI.

Spanheim (4) has given us, from the Palatine collection, a coin of Carauſius, preſerved, as he thinks, no where elſe; on which is a head, crowned, and, on the reverſe, two figures, with a ſceptre, united in one, the one upright, the other proſtrate; almoſt all the letters are worn out, the word VICTOR only being legible: on mine, from Reculver, which is better preſerved, not VICTOR, but CONSERVATOR, appears. If I may indulge a conjecture, as to this coin, I ſhould ſay, it was ſtruck before Carauſius was admitted to a ſhare in the empire, and that the figures bearing ſceptres, and growing together, repreſent Jupiter and Hercules, or Diocleſian and Maximinian; the former of whom would be ſtyled Jovius, the latter Herculeus; that by the conjunction of their bodies was meant the union of

(4) In Breviario Romanæ hiſt. IX. 22.

their minds, which, Lactantius (5) ſays, was great and wonderful, "nor could they unite "in ſo firm a friendſhip, if there had not "been in each one mind, the ſame thoughts, "a like will, the ſame opinion." There are three others of Caraufius, which perhaps are ſingular. The firſt has a Centaur holding in his hand a globe, but the letters are almoſt worn out, LE.... only remaining. The ſecond has a figure in a helmet, marching, with a ſpear in his right hand, and in his left a trophy hung on his ſhoulder, with this inſcription, VIRTVS.... The third has a figure in a robe, ſtanding, with her right hand leaning on a ſtaff, in her left holding the horn of plenty; the letters round it are

TEMPORVM FELICITAS.

This may ſuffice as a ſpecimen of the Reculver coins. I ſhall only add, that to the rim of ſome of the gold coins of Magnen-

(5) De mortibus perſecutorum, cap. 8.

tius

tius a ſmall hollow pipe *, of the ſame metal, is affixed, intended, no doubt, for the inſertion of a ſmall ribbon, or thread, by which the Romans uſed to hang their coins, like a collar, round the neck; nor can that paſſage of Pomponius, the civilian, be underſtood in any other ſenſe, where he ſays (6), that "the reverſion of "ancient gold and ſilver coins, worn as "jewels, may be deviſed."

The reader, I hope, will excuſe my enlarging, perhaps with too much prolixity, on a favourite ſubject, as it is an infirmity common to the old (7), and eſpecially to antiquaries, who, not contented with being verboſe, are too often oſtentatious boaſters of their diſcoveries. I do not recollect that Cicero is any where more vain-glorious than where he relates his finding the tomb

* Dr. Harris ſtyles this "a loop," (though it was rather a pipe for the inſertion of a loop) and ſays, "he ſaw ſuch another "found at Woodneſborough, an adjoining pariſh."

(6) Lib. xxviii. ff. de uſufructu.

(7) Tull. de ſenectute. Macrob. Saturnal. ſermonum. vii. 2.

of Archimedes (8), and ſhowing it to the Syracuſans: "Thus," ſays he, "the nobleſt "city of Greece, and formerly alſo the "moſt learned, would have been ignorant "of the monument of her moſt ingenious "citizen, if ſhe had not learned it from a "native of Arpinum." A rare exploit indeed! the diſcovery of the tomb of a man, who had been buried, 136 years before, near the gates of his city, and which was yet viſible above the brambles*! The Syracuſans, no doubt, were juſtly culpable for ſuffering the monument of their moſt famous citizen to be almoſt loſt, and overgrown with buſhes; but Cicero had little reaſon to boaſt of diſcovering it before it was utterly loſt.

Far be it from me to inſinuate, by way of compariſon, that the antiquities of Kent

(8) Tuſcul. quæſt. v. 23.

* A late very intelligent traveller ſearched amongſt the ſepulchres at Syracuſe, ſeveral of which are very elegant, for that of Archimedes, but could ſee nothing reſembling it. At his own deſire it was adorned with the figure of a ſphere inſcribed in a cylinder.

See Brydone's Tour through Sicily and Malta, vol. 1. p. 272.

would

would in like manner have been unknown to its inhabitants, if they had not been pointed out to them by me, a native of Suffolk. Undeſerving as I am of thanks or praiſe, and ſatisfied with pardon and indulgence only, for not doing juſtice to the importance of my ſubject, if, as in reaſon it ought, my undertaking be eſtimated, not by the event, but by my intention, I ſhall be deemed, I preſume, to have done nothing unbecoming a grateful citizen. I ſtyle myſelf a citizen of Kent, as ſome years are elapſed, ſince, being ſent into that county, together with my brother Nicholas, by the moſt rev. Dr. William Sancroft, archbiſhop of Canterbury, and there promoted to a benefice, and alſo honoured with dignities, I was kindly received by the inhabitants of Kent. Nicholas, by illuſtrating the antiquities of the city of Canterbury, will ſoon diſcharge his duty by publiſhing his work*. That I too

* Cantuaria Sacra, publiſhed at London in quarto, 1703, together with a new and improved edition of Somner's Antiquities of Canterbury.

might

might not be wanting in my duty, I have ſtudied the antiquities of the county: ſuch therefore as they are, Kent is entitled to them, which indeed is my country, if that be our country where we are happy: and to all my ſtudies on the ſubject of antiquities, it has, beſides, a farther claim, by having ſupplied me both with the materials and with ancient remains. To the diſcuſſion of the Roman tranſactions in this corner of Kent, I was not a little prompted by my viewing, as often as my duty called me to my parochial charge at Adiſham, from its delightful hills and downs, the ſpires of Reculver, the iſle of Thanet, the coaſt near Richborough, and the level in which was the haven of Rutupiæ; for the frequent ſight of theſe places gave riſe to many reflections on their antiquity.

As to the other remains found at Reculver, this place, it is obſervable, ſeldom furniſhes any earthen ware entire; moſt of them were broken, by the fall of the cliff, in which they lay; as appears by the numerous

numerous fragments of them, which are found ſcattered all along the ſhore: ſome of theſe, on account of the elegance and variety of the figures that adorn them, I preſerve. Among them are ſome pots, branched like vine-leaves, others like ſcales; on one, are children playing, on another, Cupid laſhing and taming a lion, on others, a dog purſuing a hare, charioteers driving cars with four horſes, the head of a lion projecting on the ſide of a vaſe, through whoſe perforated jaws water might be poured in drops; and perhaps it was the fragment of an ewer, a veſſel that was uſed in ſacred offices. In ſhort, on almoſt all the different kinds of earthen veſſels, games are repreſented. Among the ſame fragments are ſome inſcribed with letters, one with CCF, another TACI, a third PRIMITIVI, which was the name of a famous potter. There is alſo a diſh, almoſt entire, on the middle of which are the characters MARSI. M. Theſe letters are all encloſed within an oblong figure of four ſides, which, I ſuppoſe, was the ſhape of the ſtamps with which potters

potters uſed to engrave their names on their veſſels.

An urn, in my poſſeſſion, of an unuſual bulk, ſeems to have been intended not for bones, but for wine, the inſide being pitched; the manner of doing this we are taught by Columella(9); it is alſo furniſhed with four handles, by means of which it could be ſet down on the ground, and again, when neceſſary, taken up, an uſe that was by no means ſuitable to a ſepulchral urn, which it was ominous to remove: it holds twenty-four of our quarts, and was dug up, together with many other ſepulchral urns, not indeed at Reculver, but at Newington; it being a frequent cuſtom for the funeral pile to be extinguiſhed, the bones waſhed, and the tombs, in the ſacrifices to the infernal deities, to be ſprinkled with wine. The diſtance of Newington from Rocheſter, viz. about VII or VIII miles, which is the diſ-

(9) De re ruſticâ XII. 18.

tance

tance aſſigned alſo to Durolevum in the Peutingerian Tables, inclines me to think that the Itinerary of Antoninus ſhould be thus corrected:

Durolevum. M. P. VII. or VIII.
Durovernum. M. P. XVII. or XVIII.

an emendation which is much favoured by the great number of urns dug up near the highway; which leaves no doubt that Newington, ſituated on this road, flouriſhed under the Romans. I have ſeveral urns and veſſels that were found at Upchurch, near Newington, not in a burying-ground, I imagine, but a potter's field, as the urns were empty, inverted, and ranged in no order; lay in a marſhy, not a ſandy, ſoil; and one or two of them, I think, were even ſunk in the bed of the neighbouring river.

And now I am on the ſubject of ſepulchres, I ſhall beg leave to digreſs to the grave of Laberius, which our Kentiſh men have

have ſo often boaſted as an honour, contending for the dead Laberius with as much ſpirit as the Britons fought with him in his life-time. Allowing that this brave military tribune was ſlain there, and buried under a green barrow, yet I cannot agree with Camden, in regard to the origin of the name; as he thinks that the place was called Jul-ham, from its being the ſtation or houſe of Julius, and the barrow Jul-laber, as being the grave of Laberius. Indeed, if the name of this tribune had been Julius Laberius, the conjecture would have been more probable; but it was Quintus Laberius Durus (1). The compounding ſuch words, Roman with Saxon, the name of an emperor with that of a tribune, is more acceptable to the vulgar than to the learned. I think them pure Saxon, and that Cilla-ham, for ſo it appears in old manuſcripts, meant the manſion of ſome Saxon whoſe name was Cilla, and Cilla-byrig, the grave of the ſame Cilla: for let it be obſerved, that Cilla-ham and Cilla-byrig were pro-

(1) Cæſ. de bello Gall. v. 11.

nounced

nounced in that language like our Chilla-ham and Chilla-byri; the letter c at the beginning of words being pronounced by them CH, as is the preſent practice of the Italians; and G in general not pronounced at all. To conſider this grave a little more minutely; it is above 180 feet in length *; more than forty in breadth, and ſeven or eight in height: the form is the ſame as that of the graves in our church-yards, and, like them, it ſtands eaſt and weſt †; the only difference is its ſize: it is ſituated near the river Stour, on the eſtate of Dudley Digges, eſq; § with whoſe permiſſion, and by the deſire of lord viſcount

* At preſent it is but 156, owing to the falling or digging away of the chalk-pit, on which it is placed, at one extremity, and to the encroachments made upon it, by ploughing, at the other, Dr. Harris calls it "70 paces long and 20 over;" or 175 feet by 50.

† It is not exactly ſo, but approaches nearly to the ſouth-eaſt and north-weſt. There is a view of this barrow among the late Dr. Stukeley's unpubliſhed plates.

§ Now the eſtate of Robert Colebrooke, eſq;

Weymouth,

Weymouth, Mr. Heneage Finch*, as eminent for his knowledge of antiquity as for his noble birth, had it opened, but with little ſucceſs, as he found nothing by which he could determine whether it was of Roman or Saxon origin, or whether it belonged to Laberius or Cilla.

But to return from this digreſſion: I have an earthen pipe, taken out of Reculver cliff, ſeventeen inches and a half long: it has two oblong holes, on oppoſite ſides; the noſtrils, or vents, through which the ſmoke iſſues (2): the perforated ſides are five inches broad, thoſe not perforated above ſix; it is almoſt an inch thick; within, it has a ſmoky blackneſs, which plainly denotes its uſe; it being one of thoſe tubes which Seneca mentions (3) as being inven-

* Second ſon of Heneage earl of Winchelſea, to which title he ſucceeded, on the death of his nephew, in 1712. He died without iſſue in 1726. Lord Weymouth above-mentioned married his ſiſter.

(2) Vitruvius de architect. VII. 10.

(3) Epiſt. XC.

ted

ted in his memory, "fixed on walls, by "which the heat was diffuſed all round, "and the top and the bottom were at once "equally warmed:" that this was formerly fixed on a wall appears from the mortar which almoſt every where adheres to it. Such pipes were forbidden to be fixed on a party-wall by a law; "It is not "lawful to have tubes fixed on a party-"wall, as it is not allowable to build on "a party-wall; and the rather, as by tubes "the wall is ſcorched with flame." Mr. Edw. Lhwyd (4) mentions one, which was found in North Wales, reſembling mine, except that it was rather ſhorter, and had noſtrils not oblong but round; intimating, that it was found in a ſtove; ſuch a one as was found entire at Kaer Lheion in Monmouthſhire, and is thus deſcribed by Giraldus Cambrenſis (5): "You may ſee there "ſeveral ſtoves, contrived with admirable "ſkill, inſenſibly breathing the heat by

(4) Camden's Britannia, p. 607.

(5) Itin. Cambriæ, l. 5.

" ſome lateral and very narrow vent-
" holes."

The variety of braſs utenſils at length brought to light, after they had ſtruggled with ruſt in the bowels of the earth for above 1300 years, if I had not redeemed them, would have been doomed to the melting-pot, as a brazier told me he had melted above thirty pounds weight of ſuch things found at Reculver; among thoſe which I have preſerved are, if I miſtake not, ſewing and weaving needles, pins, bodkins, tongues of buckles; rings furniſhed with keys, and engraved with ſeals; the braſs ornaments of cheſts, belts, bridles, harneſs; keys, fragments of armour; fibulæ of various kinds; little images; ligulæ; ſpoons; a ſtrigil, or fleſh-ſcraper; the hafts of claſp-knives; tweezers; bullæ; a gold bracelet adorned with ſapphires; with numbers more, which I am utterly at a loſs to know in what claſs to rank. As diligence in explaining things ſo minute is ridiculous, I will only ſelect ſuch as are ſcarce, or have

not

not been rightly, or at all, explained by others: for to what purpoſe ſhould I deſcribe fibulæ after Rhodius, rings after Liceto (6), or needles after Salmaſius (7)? I will therefore begin with the ſtrigil; that being an inſtrument which is ſeldom found, nor is its ſtructure, or its uſe, well known. As to its ſcarceneſs, Jerom Mercurialis (8) has given two that were found in the ruins of the emperor Trajan's baths; a third, from the muſeum of Nicholas Fabricius, is exhibited by Laurence Pignorius (9); Claude Molinet (1), canon of St. Genevieve, ſays, that three are preſerved in the library of that church, of which he has given us the form only of one; but my being able to produce no more is perhaps not ſo much owing to the ſcarceneſs of ſtrigils, as to the poverty of our libraries, which do not

(6) In his treatiſe de annulis.

(7) Plin. exercitat. p. 759.

(8) De arte gymnaſt. 1. 8.

(9) De ſervis, p. 84.

(1) Dans le cabinet de la bibliotheque de S. Genevieve, p. 27.

abound with books of that kind. Mine I imagine to be the only one found in Britain, at leaſt the only one publiſhed and deſcribed. It was ſent to me by a countryman, who found it in the Reculver ciſtern, and who, from its colour, flattered himſelf that it was gold, and worth ten guineas; nor was he ſingular in being deceived by its golden colour; but even that diligent and judicious collector of antiquities, Mr. Aubrey*, was betrayed into the ſame miſtake; for, on ſeeing my ſtrigil, he immediately exclaimed, "Behold the golden ſickle with "which the Druids (2) uſed to cut miſle-"toe!" This writer, in other reſpects a man of learning, being apt ſuperſtitiouſly and idly to wreſt almoſt every thing to the religion and worſhip of the Druids. Mine is not only entire, but almoſt wholly free

* John Aubrey, eſq; F. R. S. of Eaſton Piers in Wilts, author of the Perambulation of Surrey, &c. the firſt who brought us acquainted with the earlieſt remains of Druidiſm, and of Roman, Saxon, and Daniſh fortifications in Britain. He died in 1700.

(2) Plin. Hiſt. Nat. XVI. 44.

from

from ruſt; if it has contracted any, it is ſince I had it; the ſubſtance with which it is gilt has, I ſuppoſe, preſerved its brightneſs undiminiſhed; you would think that the poet Sympoſius (3) had this in view, when he thus deſcribed a braſs ſtrigil,

Red, crooked, large, bedew'd with various drops,
By a falſe ſplendor counterfeiting gold,
A ſlave to ſweat, I faint with moderate toil.

Nor is it deſcribed with leſs accuracy by Apuleius (4), as "having one end ſtrait, "and terminating in a point, and the other "end hollow and bent, ſo that by the one "it might be held in the hand, and through "the other the ſweat might flow as in a "channel:" from whence we may firſt obſerve, that the ſtrigil of Apuleius was divided into two parts, namely, a handle and a ſpoon; the former was ſtrait and pointed, the latter reſembled a long hollow pipe, and was bent: that the handle

(3) Ænigmat. LXXXVI.

(4) Floridorum L. II.

of the ſtrigil of Fabricius is very different from that deſcribed by Apuleius, as it was not ſtrait, but more crooked than the ſpoon itſelf: that the ſtrigils of Mercurialis had handles not round, like mine, but ſquare; the ſpoons indeed were bent, but not, like this, bent back again.

The ſtrigil was applied to two uſes; the one in bathing, the other in medici e: that line of Perſius (5) is to be underſtood of the former;

Go, boy, and carry ſtrigils to the baths
Of rich Criſpinus.

Lewis Prat, late profeſſor of rhetoric in France, who publiſhed Juvenal and Perſius wtth notes for the uſe of the Dauphin, when he wanted to inform that prince what the ſtrigil was, after conſulting his Calepin (6) or Stephens (7), ſays, "it was an

(5) Sat. v. ver. 126.

(6) In his dictionary.

(7) Theſaur. linguæ Latinæ.

"inſtru-

" inſtrument with teeth, made of iron, " ſilver, or other materials, ſo ſtyled from " bruſhing, (*ſtringendo*) or rubbing." So indeed they both define a curry-comb (*ſtrigilis equiſonum*) " An iron inſtrument " with teeth, uſed by grooms to clean " horſes and other beaſts of burden." But who, before Prat, was ever ſo cruel as to have ſtrigils with iron teeth carried to the baths, and naked men, not rubbed, but torn and hacked by them? Yet why do I tax Prat with cruelty, as, undoubtedly moved with compaſſion, in explaining that line of Juvenal (8),

——— ——— *et ſonat unctis*
Strigilibus ——— ———

he has taken care to have them " well oiled, " that they might be leſs hurtful?" But Juvenal certainly meant that the ſtrigils were to be oiled, not leſt they ſhould hurt,

(8) Sat. III. ver. 263.

but that they themſelves might not be hurt by ruſt; an accident which uſed frequently to befal them, eſpecially thoſe of iron, on account of the ſaline quality of the ſweat, as is hinted by Plautus (9); nor could Prat have been guilty of ſuch abſurdities in regard to this inſtrument, if he had not been totally ignorant of its form and figure. A ſecondary uſe of the ſtrigil in medicine ſeems quite adventitious and accidental, and to have been owing to the commodiouſneſs of its ſhape, which is bent and hollow; for thus we are told by Cornelius Celſus (1), "it is neceſſary to pour into the "ear ſome medicine, which ſhould always "be previouſly warmed, and is moſt com-"modiouſly inſtilled by the ſtrigil." And thus alſo Scribonius Largus (2); "the juice "of the parings of cucumbers, warmed, "and poured into the orifice of the ear "by a ſtrigil, alleviates its pain." Laſtly,

(9) In his Stichus.

(1) In re medicâ, VI. 7.

(2) De comp. med. XXXIX.

Pliny

Pliny (3), following their example, orders all his medicinal preparations to be "warmed, " and poured in a ſtrigil."

Next to the ſtrigil is a Regulbian ligula, which ſeem to have ſome relation to each other, as Apuleius calls the hollow part of a ſtrigil ligula. Of this no one, to my knowledge, has yet given us the figure; it is frequently indeed mentioned in ancient writers, but very differently, both as to its uſe and its form, which has occaſioned much debate among the moderns, but all vague and uncertain, which confuſion may perhaps be removed by my explanation. It is much ſmaller than the ſtrigil, not crooked, but ſtrait, with a handle, ending in a point, in the manner of a writing ſtyle; for which indeed I ſhould have miſtaken it, had I not recollected Sympoſius's (4) riddle on an iron pen,

Smooth at the top, but not at bottom ſmooth.

(3) Hiſt. Nat. xxv. 13.

(4) Ænig. 1.

Min:

Mine is not ſmooth at the bottom, but hollow, and, as far as we can judge from the deſcription of ſtyles, wholly different from them. But to be more explicit; we muſt obſerve that there were three ſorts of ligulæ, as they were uſed either in meaſures, or huſbandry, or at table. As to the meaſures, they are chiefly diſcuſſed by writers on medicine and huſbandry, who ſay, that in liquids they contained three drams and a ſcruple (5), in dry meaſures, heaped up, they held half an ounce; but mine, not being of that ſize, it is plain, was not a meaſure. In huſbandry, we read that they were uſed either for ſcumming of honey (6), or culling the flower from the wax (7); or as a kind of drenching-horn for cattle (8). But I do not think that mine was intended for any of thoſe uſes; it follows, therefore, that it was a table utenſil, like a ſpoon.

(5) Columella de re ruſticâ, xii. 21.

(6) Ibid. ix. 15.

(7) Plin. xxi. 14.

(8) Columella, xii. 21.

As

As none of the ancients has mentioned ligulæ more frequently than Martial, I made no doubt, that, if I consulted him and his commentators, I should immediately discover what ligulæ were; but when, on account of the fame and reputation of the books *in usum Delphini*, I consulted the edition of Martial published by Vincent Collesso, I found that editor most laboriously trifling in his notes, neither calling what Martial meant by the name ligula, or understanding his meaning, or able to explain it to others: for instance; among the Saturnalian presents (9), the poet reckons small ligulæ; these his commentator Vincent thinks were silver daggers: he says the same of that line,

To send a ligula, on Saturn's feast,
That holds six ounces (1);

and again,

(9) Epigr. v. 18.

(1) Epigr. v. 20.

When

When you a ligula may ſend (2),

here alſo he draws his dagger; and, laſtly, he trifles as egregiouſly in this epigram,

Though by the great I "ligula" am ſtyl'd,
Unlearn'd grammarians call me "lingula" (3).

This conſtruction may eaſily be overthrown, or, at leaſt, ſhown to be frivolous: for allowing that the ancients, on the authority of Gellius (4), ſtyled an oblong dagger, formed in the ſhape of a tongue, "lingula;" does not the ſame author obſerve that this word was obſolete, and quote Nævius, an old poet, who uſed it in his tragedy of Heſione? If Martial has ſo often called a dagger "ligula," what occaſion was there for Aulus Gellius to tell us, that this word was ſeldom uſed, and to quote Nævius? A word ſo frequently introduced by Martial could not be ſtyled "unuſual" by Gellius, who wrote ſoon after him. The ſame accurate commentator aſſerts, that

(2) Epigr. VIII. 33.

(3) Epigr. XIV. 120. Farnaby interprets it in all theſe paſſages in the ſame manner.

(4) Noct. Att. x. 25.

"ligula

" ligula is ſometimes a meaſure, and ſome-
" times a ſlice;" but where it is mentioned by Martial (5) among table-utenſils in theſe lines,

> The cups and ligulæ the ſervants loſe,
> And in their boſoms many a napkin lurks,

" here (he ſays,) ligula is both a ſpoon and a
" ſlice," &c. But is it not evident that he was entirely ignorant of what it was? That it was not a ſpoon, we are told by Martial himſelf, who more than once diſtinctly mentions both: one inſtance ſhall ſerve for all (6):

> The eighth year brought a ligula moſt ſmall,
> The ninth a ſpoon ſcarce heavier than a pin;

and, in another epigram (7), immediately after a ſilver ligula, ſpoons are named: from whence the learned James Sirmond (8)

(5) Epigr. VIII. 59.

(6) Epigr. VIII. 71.

(7) Epigr. XIV. 120, 121.

(8) In his notes on the epiſtles of Sidonius, lib. 1. ep. 2.

juſtly

juſtly infers, that the ligula was a common table-utenſil, differing from a ſpoon; but Vincent Colleſſo being ignorant of both, and having no idea of the table-ligula, has every where introduced meaſures and daggers.

As Martial, we ſee, has joined the ſpoon (*cochleare*) with the ligula, let me add, that I have alſo a ſilver ſpoon, from Reculver, which has a ſtyle for a handle, from whence Smetius (9) has idly dreamed, that ſpoons were uſed by the ancients inſtead of writing ſtyles: the lower part is holl wed, in the form of a cockle-ſhell; from whence the Greeks call it μύστρον, for μῦς is a cockle-ſhell. But I ſhould never have deſcanted on this Reculver ſpoon, if I had not been induced to it by this epigram of Martial (1),

I'm fit for cockles, and for eggs as fit,
Or why am I a *cochleare* ſtyl'd?

(9) Antiq. Neom. p. 76.

(1) xiv. 121.

which,

which, though hitherto not rightly explained by any one, I think may be illuſtrated by the help of my ſpoon. For as one end of it, being concave, is extremely commodious for taking out eggs, the other, being pointed, is equally proper for picking cockles out of their ſhells; and that the point of the ſpoon was uſed for that purpoſe has been obſerved by Julius Pollux (2), who calls it "a digger of cockles." Laſtly, without attending to this ſhape of the ſpoon, who can underſtand Pliny (3), when, relating what care the ancients took to avoid incantations, he ſays, "every one is afraid "of being bewitched; for this reaſon, the "ſhells of eggs, as ſoon as they are ſwal-"lowed, and alſo of fiſh, are immedi-"ately broken or pricked with ſpoons;" which certainly could not be done but by ſpoons with a ſharp point. As to thoſe who maintain, with Domitius Calderinus, that the ſpoon *(cochleare)* was not ſo called from

(2) Onomaſt. vi. 12.

(3) Hiſt. Nat. xxviii. 2.

its

its uſe in digging out cockles, but from the form of cockles, they ſeem not to know the difference between a cockle and an eſcallop; as the ſhape of eſcallops plainly reſembles that of my ſpoon, and not that of cockles, which are in the form of a cone, and totally unapplicable to the uſes of ſpoons. I have another kind of ſpoon, without a ſtyle, or a haft, but furniſhed with a ſmaller handle by which it may be held in the fingers: this I ſuppoſe to have been a ſpoon of meaſure, though Michael Angelo Cauſeus (4) claſſes it among the ſacred utenſils; and ſays, that it was employed to take frankincenſe out of the cenſer. Vincent, the commentator of Martial, has committed the ſame miſtake in explaining the cochleare that he did in regard to the ligula.

Among ſpoons and ſlices are to be reckoned knives, which the gueſts themſelves, or at leaſt the carvers, uſed at meals; theſe have two braſs handles, both alike: they

(4) De inſignibus Pontif.

were

were of that kind of knives which we call claſps, whoſe ſteel blade bending back was returned into the haft; in one of them ſome remains of ſteel are yet diſcernible, in both, as in the ring of Firmina in Ennodius (4),

A greyhound fix'd by art a hare purſues
Immoveable [illegible]

The figure of a dog purſuing a hare, I before obſerved, was uſed in the fragments of the earthen veſſels; which ſymbol, unleſs the artiſt adopted it by chance, I ſhould imagine, was intended to expreſs the pleaſure which the Romans, who dwelt here, took in hare-hunting; for that animal was with them a dainty, and

Of beaſts the hare was valued moſt (5).

That dogs moſt proper for this kind of hunting were produced in Britain we are told by Nemeſianus (6);

(4) Epigr. xcviii.

(5) Martial. epigr. xiii. 92.

(6) In his Cyneget icon.

—— —— Britain's diſtant iſland ſends
Dogs ſwift, and fit for hunting ——

And though Cæſar(7) relates, that "the "Britons did not think it lawful to taſte "the hare, the hen, and the gooſe, but bred "them however for the ſake of amuſe-"ment," we know that the Romans were not ſo ſuperſtitious.

As to the ornaments of dreſs, I have fibulæ, bodkins, bullæ; fibulæ, in particular, almoſt without number, ſome of which, curiouſly and artfully made, retain ſome marks either of the gold varniſh with which they were waſhed, or ſpecks of the colours that were burnt in, or beazils, or at leaſt ſockets in which formerly were precious ſtones. But theſe I forbear to mention, one excepted, which, on account of the ſimplicity and rudeneſs of the workmanſhip, I call an ordinary one; for it has no joint, no ornament, as the mere wire, which is of braſs,

(7) De bello Gall. v. 10.

and

and very coarſe, is bent into the ſhape and uſe of a fibula. Another, which is of ivory, I ſhould not mention, were it not with a view of enquiring, why Strabo (8), ſpeaking of the commerce which, in his time, was carried on between Britain and Gaul, calls ivory bridles "a cheap merchandiſe." For how can ivory be cheap in thoſe nations where there are no elephants? How ſhould that bear no value among the Gauls and Britons, which, even at Rome (9), bore a high price? The bullæ are frequently mentioned by the ancients: Macrobius (1) ſays, that the bulla had two uſes; firſt, "that it was given to "youths of diſtinction, to be worn at the "boſom, in the form of a heart, that, view-"ing it, they might think themſelves men, "if their hearts were rightly diſpoſed:" ſecondly, "that it was worn by conquerors

(8) Geogr. IV. p. 138.

(9) Plin. Hiſt. Nat. VIII. 10.

(1) Saturnal. I. 6.

" in their triumphs, with ſuch remedies " incloſed in it as they thought moſt effi- " cacious againſt envy." Mine are applicable to either of theſe uſes; for they are not only formed in the ſhape of a heart, but a heart is alſo emboſſed upon them; and being hollow like boxes, they are fit for the reception of amulets: what thoſe amulets were, I know not, unleſs perhaps they were figures of Harpocrates; or little images, an inch long, with one hand on the mouth, which were found in the ſame place with the bullæ: a conjecture, which ſeems favoured by this paſſage quoted by Cuper (2), from the Œdipus Ægyptiacus of Kircher; " a little coffer, in the form " of a heart, in the middle of which is " placed a naked, infant Harpocrates, " with his finger on his lips, exhorting " ſilence." And, that the image of Harpocrates was reckoned a charm, we are told, more than once, by Cuper in his learned work.

(2) Harpocrates, p. 158.

As

As to the ſeveral ſmall braſs rings, all of the ſame form, much reſembling thoſe which our farmers fix in the ſnouts of ſwine, though I cannot aſcertain the uſe of them, yet as they are frequently found in heaps on the Reculver ſhore, I ſhall add my ſentiments of them. There was a kind of breaſt-plate which the ancients ſtyled ἁλυσιδωτὸν (chained,) from its being faſtened, according to Julius Pollux, by little chains or rings: it is thus deſcribed by Virgil (3),

A coat of mail thrice chain'd with gold.
DRYDEN.

Sidonius (4) too, not more elegantly than Virgil, but rather more fully as to our purpoſe,

—— —— —— an orb unſew'd
With well-driven hooks the breaſt-plate join'd;

(3) Æneid. III.

(4) In his panegyric on Athemius.

where by *hami* (hooks) the (5) lexicographers underſtand rings or circles, and Du Choul (6) calls coats of mail "ringed:" why therefore may not theſe rings have formerly been employed in the joining of armour? The fiſh-hooks it is needleſs to mention, as they differ from ours only in the materials, unleſs they were never bearded, or, which ſeldom happens, age has made them beardleſs.

I ſhall now briefly relate the particular method purſued by me in collecting antiquities at Reculver, and the plan which I would recommend to all collectors in general. I viſited Reculver on account of its great reputation for antiquity: I applied myſelf to ſuch of the inhabitants as employed themſelves in ſearching for ancient remains; I gave them a ſtrict caution not to clean ſuch coins as were ruſty, by rubbing them with ſand or any thing elſe; as I had ſeen many of the moſt valuable by that

(5) Sur la caſtramentation des anciens Romains.

(6) The editor of Calepin. Martin of Lebrixa.

means

means quite obliterated; to ſell no braſs to the braſiers, but to reſerve it for me, and I would give a higher price for it; to break no urns or pots; and if they found them broken, and inſcribed with any marks or letters, to bring them to me. This was the origin of my collection. In other places, let him who is curious in ſuch reſearches, open barrows; let him explore encampments, trenches, and the places adjoining; let him examine the ancient public ways; let him, without ſuperſtition or dread, open and ranſack ſepulchres (7), which are generally by the road-ſide; let him carefully explore the ruins of cliffs; when he finds any traces of antiquity, let him purſue them, and call in the aſſiſtance of connoiſſeurs; if he ſhould diſcover any coins, either lying in a heap, or incloſed in an urn or pot, let him obſerve the lateſt; for they will nearly determine the time when they were buried; let him allow every man of learning full

(7) Kirkman de funeribus, p. 509.

liberty to inſpect whatever he finds; when he meets with inſcriptions, let them be accurately copied, and, without envy, communicated to the world. And be theſe the laws of antiquaries.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

A DISSERTATION *on the ancient ports of* RICHBOROUGH *and* SANDWICH.

By the Rev. Mr. JOHN LEWIS.

Read before the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, Oct. 11, 1744.

THREE years after the death of the learned John Battely, D. D. archdeacon of Canterbury, was printed in Latin at Oxford, a beautiful little tract, intitled, *Antiquitates Rutupinæ*, or, the "Antiquities of Richborough." It is an account of a converſation betwixt him and his two brother-chaplains to archbiſhop Sancroft, the learned Dr. Henry Maurice, and Mr. Henry Wharton, in a very polite and elegant ſtyle.—Page 9*, he tells them, that he undertakes to ſhew, that the ancient port of Sandwich was bounded within the ſaid limits which he aſcribed to the port of Richborough, viz. Peperneſs to the eaſt, and Northmuth to the north.

* Page 9 alſo of the tranſlation.

But

But this ſeems to me a wrong account of the Richborough port, owing to his either having never ſeen the place, or not viewed it with ſufficient attention; the bounds of the large æſtuary, a part of which was the Richborough port or haven, ſo called from a little iſland toward the eaſt part of it, called Ruochim-inis, and Ruoch-berg, were the continent of Eaſt Kent and the iſle of Tanet, in both which the riſing ground yet ſhews where the water was anciently. The mouth of the æſtuary extended itſelf from Ramſgate cliff to Walmer, about four or five miles in breadth; ſo that the ſea anciently daſhed againſt the walls of Richborough caſtle, or the ſhore of the iſland beneath them, and covered all that land (1), on which Stonar and Sandwich were afterwards built, and all that flat, or level, which is betwixt Sandwich and Deal, or Walmer. Bede, about A. D. 700, obſerved that the æſtuary was then decayed, and was

(1) This coaſt, or ſhore, was called Rutupina littora. The æſtuary flowed up as high as Chartham, about three miles beyond Canterbury, almoſt twenty miles in length.

called

called Wantſume, and that the part of it which came into the ſea at the Northmuth by the Reculver, was then reduced to about three ſtadia, or not half an Italian mile, whereas eyeſight informs us, that it had been above an Engliſh mile in breadth. Solinus called the other part of this Wantſume, "a ſlender or narrow ſtream," which, in king Cnute's grant of the port of Sandwich, to the prior, &c. of Chriſt-Church, Canterbury, is repreſented as ſo ſtraight or narrow, that a man might fling a little hatchet aſhore from a veſſel riding in the middle of it at high water: yet anciently it covered all the level betwixt the riſing ground in the iſle of Tanet, and that in Eaſt Kent over againſt it, about five miles in breadth. This æſtuary is now yet more fallen away and confined to the narrow bounds of the river Stour, which are not half a ſtone's caſt wide, occaſioned by the inning the land on each ſide of it.

It is owned that the bounds of the port of Sandwich were Pepper or Peeper-neſſe, a ſmall

a ſmall ſand in the eaſtern mouth of the æſtuary, and Meres-fleot (2) by the North-muth: or, as the Sandwich records ſtate them, from Eadburgate(3), one of the gates of Sandwich, I ſuppoſe, and Merks-fleot, or the above Meres-fleot. What is now called Sandwich haven lies betwixt the ſands called the Downs, and Peeper-neſſe, and the iſle of Tanet, and is about a mile broad, and ſo ſhallow, at dead low water, that any one may ride acroſs it.

On the weſt ſide of the river Stour, which now runs in a winding ſtream towards the haven, was Stonar, built on a little iſland, made by the river Stour and the æſtuary, which ſtill flowed at Ipwids-fleot. It was called Stonar, from the vaſt quantity of ſea-beach, which the ſea had caſt up at this place, as much as to ſay, the ſtone-coaſt. At about a quarter of a mile farther ſouth, on the continent of Eaſt

(2) Marſh-flete, where ſhips could float: the Genlade, or inlet, on the ſouth ſide of Reculver.

(3) Perhaps Eaſtburgh gate, now Eaſtry-gate.

Kent,

Kent, was built the town of Sandwich, on the ſouth ſide of the river Stour, which ran cloſe by the town, and diſcharged itſelf into the ſea, running acroſs (4) the heaps of ſand, or betwixt them, which are now called the Downs. This was a moſt convenient ſituation for trade and commerce with France, London, and Canterbury, but the river was then broader than it is now, and ran by the walls of the town.

By this it appears to me, that the ancient port of Sandwich was never of the ſame extent with that of the famous port of Richborough; though it was of great uſe, and much frequented, till the further decay of the Wantſume made it not navigable for ſhips of any great burden. But what is ſaid to have given a finiſhing ſtroke to its ruin, was the ſinking of a large carrack (5) in the channel, and the gathering

(4) This Giraldus Cambrenſis calls Exterior Portus, as being betwixt Sandwich and the main ſea.

(5) See ſir Thomas More's dialogues, fol. 119. ed. 1529.

of

of the ſands about it, which quite dammed up the paſſage of the remaining part of the Wantſume to the eaſt into the ſea; on which, as it ſeems to me, the river Stour made itſelf a winding paſſage to the north, by Stonar, to Peeper-neſſe, as it ſtill continues to do with little alteration.

Sir Thomas More intimated, that, ſome time before 1529, a commiſſion was granted to diverſe men of worſhip, who met at Sandwich to commune and deviſe about the amendment of the haven, and that within few years paſt great ſhips were accuſtomed to ride there without difficulty. John Stow tells us, that Peter Brier, ſteward of Normandy, with a fleet of Frenchmen, landed at Sandwich, 1457, and with fire and ſword waſted the town to aſhes, and ſlew the inhabitants to the laſt man. But, as the occaſion of the loſs of ſo good a harbour was found to be the riſing of the ſands, there not being water in the æſtuary ſufficient to ſcour the haven, and drive the

ſands

ſands from it, and for the want of ſuch ſcouring, the haven was choaked up with ſand; the reſtoring this port or harbour ſeems to have been judged impracticable at that time and ſince.

Whence this æſtuary firſt began to decay, we have no records to inform us. The moſt early account is that of Julius Cæſar's (6) landing in this port of Richborough, which ſeems to intimate its being in a decaying condition at that time. According to this account he landed a thouſand paces (7) to the northward of Dover, and anchored his ſhips *aperto et plano littore*, which agrees with Deal, near to which were many ſhallows, or places fordable. This agrees to the large flat betwixt Lower and Upper Deal. He farther obſerved, that his ſoldiers, after they were got out of their ſhips, could not *firmiter inſiſtere*, the bottom of the ford being a ſlippery mud.

(6) Comment. l. IV. § 20, 24.

(7) Paſſus, five feet.

The

The ſame was the caſe of the Wantſume at the North-muth, when the church of St. Nicholas was built in Tanet, almoſt over againſt Reculver, which is called St. Nicholas at Wade, or *Wadum*, "the ford." The occaſion of this decay of the æſtuary, however, about Richborough, it is plain enough, was the gathering of the North-muth, or Reculver, and the ſouth-eaſt of the iſle of Tanet, which kept the ſea from flowing, as uſual, at thoſe two mouths of the æſtuary. But what was the cauſe of thoſe ſands gathering is not ſo evident. The moſt probable gueſs is the breaking of the iſthmus betwixt Calais and the port of Dover.

From Deal to Walmer, the ſea has thrown up a vaſt quantity of beach, which kept the ſea from flowing on the large flat betwixt that place and Upper Deal.

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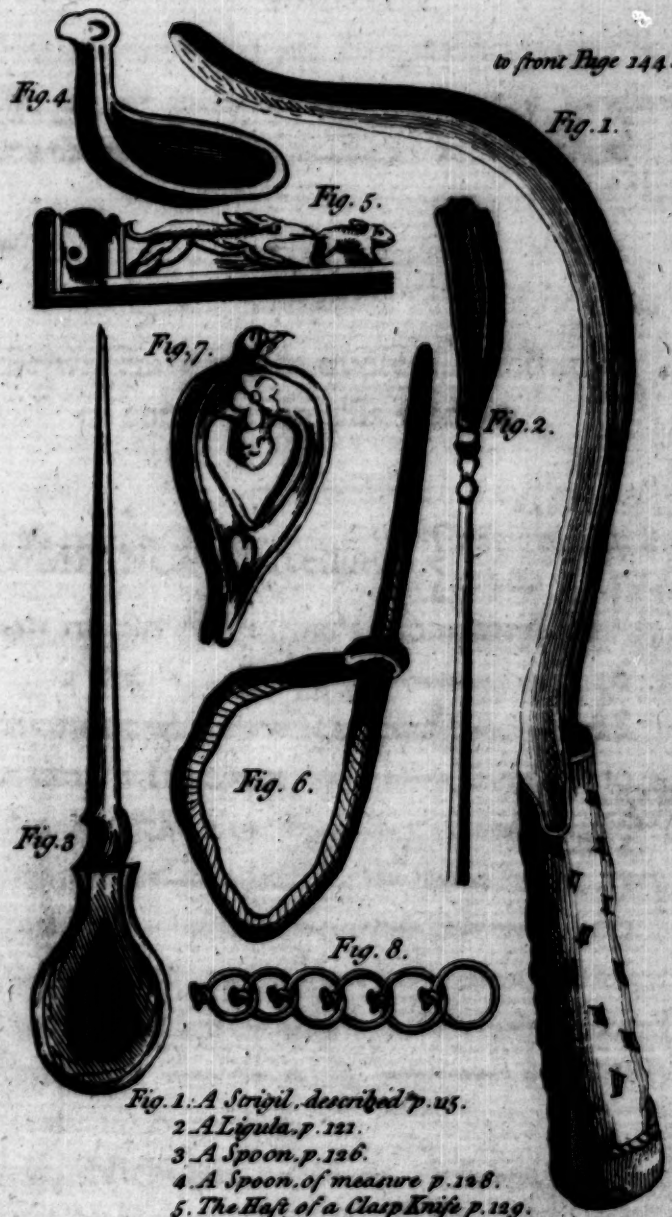

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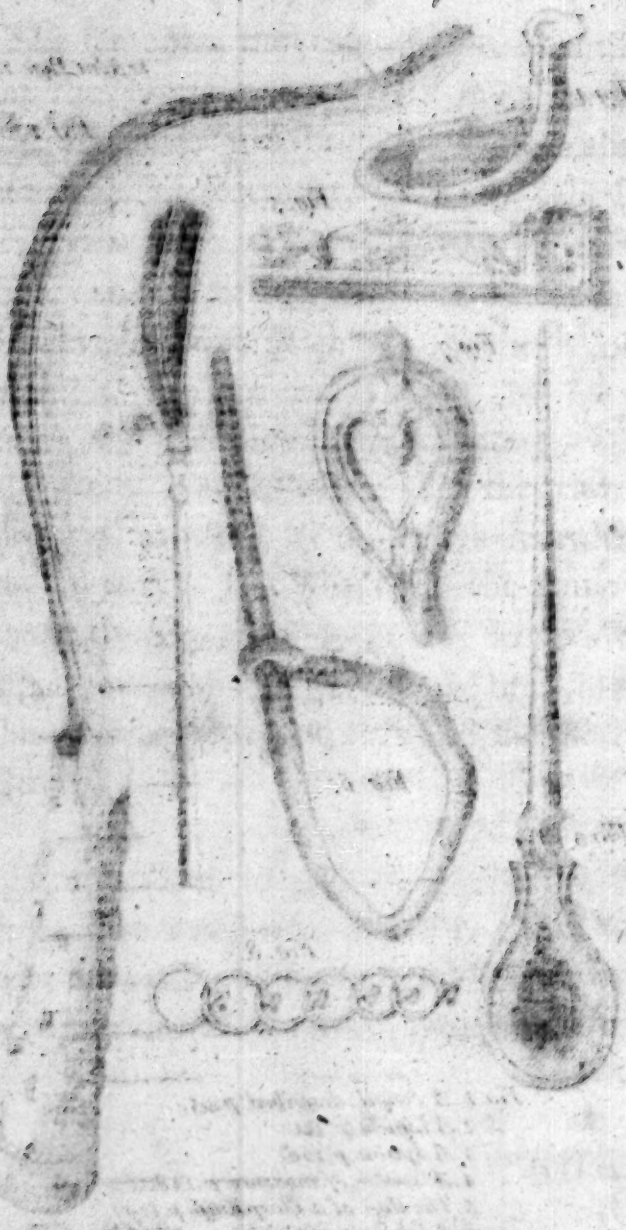

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MVSEVM BRITAN NICVM.